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## ARTICLE I.

### THE CHERUBIM.

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[The following article is a condensed presentation of the views advanced by Prof. Riehm, of Halle, in a Latin Inaugural Address, delivered on the occasion of his assuming the chair of Professor Extraordinarius in that University, in 1863. It is entitled, "*De Natura et Notionē Symbolica Cheruborum.*"]

#### SEC. 1. METHOD OF INQUIRY.

IN order to solve the question, what the cherubim were, the only proper course is to investigate, not the visions of Ezekiel, but the descriptions of the Cherubim in the tabernacle, and in the temple of Solomon. Otherwise there is danger of being embarrassed by adventitious elements in the problem. And among these adventitious elements we must regard the fact that in Ezekiel the cherubim are represented as having the faces of *four* animals, man, lion, ox, and eagle. Whereas the cherubim of the tabernacle and temple are nowhere represented as thus characterized.

Nor is the force of this consideration weakened by the allegation of Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus* I, p. 312 sq.) and others that the form of the cherubim is variable—sometimes with four faces, sometimes with two, and again with only one; and likewise in respect to feet and wings. For this allegation cannot be substantiated by comparing Ezekiel i. 10, where the cherub has four faces, with xli. 18, where it has only two, and x. 14, where it has (or seems to have) only one. For in chap. xli. 18 sq. the cherubim are represented as images made on the walls of the temple, so that from the nature of the case only two faces could *appear*; and in chap. x. 14, although a part of the verse does seem to imply that *each* of the four cherubim had only *one* face, yet this statement is contradicted (or corrected) in the same chapter, v. 21, where we read, of the same vision, “Every one [of the cherubim] had four faces apiece.” More than this, in v. 14 itself it is said, “Every one had four faces,” though it is difficult to harmonize this with the following statements: “The face of the first [not “the first face,” as in the English version] was the face of a cherub,” etc. Another difficulty with this verse is to be found in the fact that, whereas the faces of the man, the lion, and the eagle are only mentioned, that of the *ox* is replaced by “the face of a *cherub*,” so that thus the cherub, as such, is made to have a face distinct from that of the other animals, although elsewhere it is represented as composed of all the four. To assume, as some do, that “cherub” here means “ox,” or that the general form of the cherub most nearly resembled that of the ox, is a mere shift, and moreover contradicts Ezek. i. 5, which says of the “four living creatures,” “they had the likeness of a *man*.” Add to this the fact that the whole 14th verse is wanting in the Septuagint, and we must at the least have to conclude that from this verse alone no certain inference can be drawn as to the number of the faces of each cherub. We must therefore fall back on the other passages in Ezekiel for a clear intimation on this point; and the uniform representation is that each cherub

had four faces. There is then no sufficient evidence of the variableness which some have attributed to the cherubim, as described in the same book. But the cherubim of the temple and of the tabernacle *are* different from those of Ezekiel.

If now we can find a *reason* for the addition which Ezekiel has made, much light will be thrown on the whole subject. And is not the reason suggested by the description in chap. i. 15-17, x. 10 sq., of the wheels, and in chap. i. 7 of the form of the feet? Repeatedly we read, "They turned not when they went," and the wheel within a wheel was so constructed in order that the whole symbolic object of vision might move in any direction without turning. The desire to make the figure itself accord with this property, is of itself sufficient to account for the additions which Ezekiel has made to the form of the cherubim. That all these various forms were not combined in the cherubim of the temple, is made well nigh certain by the fact recorded 1 Kings, vii. 29, that on the borders between the ledges of the bases of the molten sea were "lions, oxen, and cherubim," — a strange conjunction, if the cherubim themselves were made up in part of lions and oxen.

We thus see on what a feeble basis rests the notion of Bähr and others that the images of the cherubim, by the union of the highest forms of the various races of living beings, symbolize life itself and the majesty of God as displayed in the creation of life. There is absolutely no ground for this view, except the assumption that it is an *essential* feature of the cherub to be composed of the forms of four animals. If this is shown to be a mere assumption, the whole theory falls of itself. In addition to this, however, the theory is shown to be in itself improbable, by the fact that no plausible reason can be adduced, why the cherubim should have been placed in the holy of holies, and on the very throne of God. Even though they did symbolize the glory of God as displayed in his natural works, why should they stand over the mercy-seat? Why are their wings extended over the mercy-seat? Why, in the temple of Solomon, are

the wings of the cherubim made to extend from one wall to the other? To these questions Bähr has no reply to make. Then, again, this theory compels him to distort the passage in Gen. iii. 24. He declares that the cherubim were placed in the garden of Eden, not to keep man from the garden and from the tree of life, but to take the place of man as a keeper and tiller of the ground, cf. Gen. ii. 15 (Bähr, *Symb. I.* p. 346, sq., 350 sq.). This is a strange perversion of the clear declaration that Adam was driven out that he might not take of the tree of life, and that therefore God placed at the east of the garden the cherubim and the flaming sword "to keep the way of the tree of life." But let us turn to the more positive task of elucidating the real character and significance of the cherubim.

## SEC. 2. THE CHERUBIM OF THE TABERNACLE.

From the book of Exodus we learn that the tabernacle was adorned with images in *three* places. (1.) They were woven into the linen curtains, which were hung (as, I think, has been satisfactorily demonstrated) on the outside of the wood-work, Ex. xxvi. 1, xxxvi. 8. Three other coverings were placed above this; but these images do not seem to have been made on them. (2) The veil before the entrance of the holy of holies was likewise adorned with inwoven images of cherubim, Ex. xxvi. 31, xxxvi. 35. (3.) In the most holy place itself were two golden cherubim above the lid of the ark, described in Ex. xxv. 18-20 as follows: "And thou shalt make two cherubim of gold; of turned work (מְסֻבִּים) shalt thou make them in the two ends of the lid. And make one cherub on the one end, and the other cherub on the other end; rising up from the lid (מִן־הַכֶּסֶּה) thou shalt make the cherubim on the two ends thereof. And the cherubim shall *stretch forth their wings on high, covering the lid with their wings*; and their faces shall be turned one to another; toward the lid shall the faces of the cherubim be turned."



## SEC. 3. THE CHERUBIM OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

Here the cherubim figure still more largely. (1.) In the inner court, 1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 12 (called also the court of the priests, 2 Chr. iv. 9), were ten brazen lavers, in which the flesh of the victims was washed, 2 Chr. iv. 6; and the borders (מִסְכָּרוֹס, *abaci*, panels, wainscotings) of the bases were decorated with sculptured images of lions, oxen, and cherubim, 1 Kings vii. 29, and of cherubim, lions, and palm-trees, vii. 36. (2.) On the folding doors of the temple itself, 1 K. vi. 35, and on all the walls of the temple and porch, 1 K. vi. 29, 2 Chr. iii. 7, as also on the doors of the most holy place, 1 K. vi. 32, were carved images of cherubim, palm-trees, and open flowers. The palm-trees seem to have alternated with the cherubim, cf. Ezek. xli. 18-20. (3.) The veil before the entrance of the holy of holies was adorned with inwoven images of cherubim, 2 Chr. iii. 14. (4.) In the holy of holies itself were two cherubim described in 1 K. vi. 23-28 as follows: "And within the oracle he made two cherubim of olive-tree, whose height was ten cubits. And five cubits was one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub; there were ten cubits from the uttermost part of the one wing unto the uttermost part of the other wing. And the other cherub was ten cubits; both the cherubim were of one measure and one form. The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so, of the other cherub. And he set the cherubim in the midst of the inner house; and the wings of the cherubim were stretched forth so that the wing of the one touched the wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall, and their wings towards the middle of the house touched one another. And he overlaid the cherubim with gold." To this description is added in 2 Chr. iii. 13: "And they stood on their feet, and their faces were turned towards the outer part of the house (לְבַיִת)."\*

\* Thenius translates לְבַיִת "introrsum" [so the English Version], and understands that the faces of the cherubim were turned towards one an-

Solomon ordered these cherubim to be placed, we are told in 1 K. viii. 6, 7 (cf. 2 Chr. v. 7, 8): "And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the Lord to its place, into the oracle of the house, into the most holy place, *under the wings of the cherubim*. For the cherubim spread forth their wings towards the place of the ark, and the cherubim covered the ark (כִּסְּוּהָ, in 2 Chr. v. 8 וְכִסְּוּהָ) and the staves thereof above." There were accordingly two pairs of cherubim in the holy of holies: the golden ones placed upon the lid of the ark and brought in with it; the others, made of olive-wood overlaid with gold, of much larger size, resting on the floor and covering all the ark with their wings.

#### SEC. 4. FORM OF THE CHERUBIM.

On this subject the Old Testament gives us little light. It is certain that each one had two wings and a single face. It is nearly certain that they did not resemble the Egyptian Sphinxes, nor the winged lions or oxen with human heads which we find among the Assyrian monuments, nor in fact any quadruped at all. For inasmuch as the ark was only two cubits and a half long, and between the cherubim space had to be left for the manifestation of the divine presence (for which reason the cherubim are said to have been placed on the two *ends* of the mercy-seat), there would not be place for recumbent quadrupeds, unless we suppose the cherubim to have been exceedingly small—a supposition rendered improbable by the general account of them, cf. Ex. xxv. 18–22. Moreover, it

other. But this is incorrect. This would require כִּסְּוָה (cf. 1 K. vii. 25), and not even this word would be definite enough. But לְבִית (observe the article) can mean nothing but "*ad ædem*." Yet הַבַּיִת here can hardly mean, as it commonly does, the whole temple; therefore it must be taken in the narrower sense of הַחֲדָרִים, the outer part of the building, as opposed to הָאֹרֶץ the oracle. So, e. g., 1 K. vi. 17 (Vulg. *ad exteriorem domum*).

is difficult to see how two quadrupeds, placed one on each end of the mercy-seat, and looking towards each other, could cover the mercy-seat by stretching forth their wings on high. Their bodies are therefore to be conceived as *erect* and *elevated*. In confirmation of this may be adduced 1 K. vi. 23, where the height of the body is said to be the same as the length of both wings, and 2 Chr. iii. 13, where the cherubim are said to "stand on their feet"—an expression nowhere used except in reference to men. Cf. Ezek. ii. 1, 2, iii. 24, xxxvii. 10, Zech. xiv. 12, 2 Kings xiii. 21, 1 Chr. xxviii. 2.

There is therefore every probability that the cherubim were images of *winged men*. This being assumed, there is the less reason to wonder that so little is said about their form in general. This opinion is confirmed by the testimony of Ezekiel, who, although (for the reason above given) he added three other faces to the cherubim and gave them the feet of a calf, yet explicitly declares, chap. i. 5, "They had the likeness of a man." To the same effect is the analogy of the seraphim, Is. vi. 2 sq., which, as can hardly be doubted, had the form of winged men.

There is no ground for the opinion of Bähr, Thenius, Keil and others, that the cherubim were represented as worshipping Jehovah. This opinion is founded on the passage, Ex. xxv. 20, "Toward the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubim be," from which it is inferred that the head was inclined downward. Thenius even holds that they were made in a kneeling posture, since, as he affirms, the express declaration, 2 Chr. iii. 13, that the two large cherubim made by Solomon stood on their feet, implies that those on the mercy-seat did *not* so stand. More acute than probable. The words, "Toward the mercy-seat shall the faces of the cherubim be," do not distinctly imply that the faces were inclined downward; they mean nothing more than is expressed by the words immediately preceding, "Their faces shall look one to another," and are added in order to emphasize the precept that the faces should look in the direction of the place where God was to manifest himself.

## SEC. 5. SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHERUBIM.

## 1. Preliminary.

More important than the question concerning the *form* of the cherubim, is that concerning their *meaning*. The various views that have been entertained on this point nearly all agree in this, that the cherubim in some sense *symbolized the divine presence*. They indicated that the tabernacle and the temple were the places where God in a peculiar sense dwelt. Accordingly they were made on the linen curtains *which are themselves directly called* הַכְּרֻבִּים, i. e., *the tabernacle of God*, Ex. xxvi. 1, 6, 7; xxxvi. 8, 13; also on the veil which concealed the most holy place; but especially in that place where God had promised that *he would meet with Moses and commune with him*, the mercy-seat which was put upon the ark, Ex. xxv. 22; Lev. xvi. 2, Num. vii. 89; xvii. 4. The same is true, in general, of Solomon's temple, the only difference being that this, as the fixed and permanent habitation of Jehovah, was more largely decorated with images of the cherubim: in this, as also in the temple of Ezekiel (xli. 18-20, 25), the outer doors and the walls of the porch were decorated with these images.

But *how* did the cherubim indicate the presence of Jehovah? Shall we regard them, with Keil (Archäologie, I, p. 113) as archangels, the leaders of the heavenly host, whom the Hebrews conceived as attending God in all his manifestations of himself? This view is favored by the close conjunction of the epithet יְשִׁבְּ הַכְּרֻבִּים with God's cognomen יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת. But there are grave objections to it. The cherubim are everywhere clearly distinguished from the angels. Nowhere does the Old Testament intimate that angels have wings. Wherever the angels, the sons of God (Gen. vi. 2, Job i. 2, etc.), appear in a definite form, they present simply the appearance of a man — man as made in the image of God. This holds true of the very leader of the host of the Lord, Josh. v. 13 sq. Besides this,

there is nothing in what the Old Testament says about the condition or employment of the cherubim, which justifies us in regarding them as angelic beings. But the fact that wings form a distinguishing characteristic of the cherubim, requires special notice.

## SEC. 6. SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHERUBIM.

### 2. *Significance of the Wings.*

The prominent notion conveyed by the figurative or symbolic use of the term *wings*, is that of rapid motion and the power of ascending to, and descending from, heaven. Hence the *wind*, as characterized by the greatest celerity, is often described as having wings. Cf. Ps. xviii. 10, civ. 3, Hos. iv. 19. So also we read of the wings of the dawn (כַּנְפֵי-שָׁחַר, Ps. cxxxix. 9), which seems in almost a moment of time to fly from the horizon to the zenith. The same notion is conveyed in the passage, Prov. xxiii. 5, "Riches make themselves wings; they fly away as an eagle toward heaven;" i. e., they disappear as rapidly. Cf. also Ps. lv. 7, Is. lx. 8, Deut. xxviii. 49, 2 Sam. i. 23, Ex. xix. 4, *et. al.* This symbolic significance of wings, which form so prominent a characteristic of the cherubim, justifies the opinion of Ewald (*Die Propheten des Alten Bundes* II. p. 220, sq.), Knobel (*Exodus und Leviticus*, p. 265) and others, that the cherubim were conceived as living beings, *sitting upon which God was supposed to descend from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, or in general to go wherever he wished.* The passages, Ps. xviii. 10 (2 Sam. xxii. 11), Ez. xi. 22, cf. i. 19 sq., x. 16, sq., leave no doubt that this was an office of the cherubim.

We have then here a clue to the manner in which the cherubim symbolized the divine presence. But the question is not yet solved. For in the fact that the wings represent the celerity of the divine movements we find no sufficient reason for placing the cherubim on the mercy-seat, or on the floor by the side of it. Why is this place, of all places, made to contain this

symbol? Why especially is God represented, not as being *upon* the wings of the cherubim, but *between* the cherubim, Ex. xxv. 22, Num. vii. 89? Why is such stress laid on the fact that the wings of the cherubim made by Solomon extended from one wall to the other, the whole width of the holy of holies? Finally (a still more important question), why are the cherubim again and again said to cover with their wings the mercy-seat and the ark, Ex. xxv. 20, xxxvii. 9, 1 Kings viii. 7, 1 Chron. xxviii. 18, 2 Chron. v. 7, 8? These descriptions plainly imply that the wings of the cherubim had another use than that just mentioned, viz., *they veiled and overshadowed the sacred places, and covered the sacred things*. In confirmation of this may be adduced Ezek. xxviii. 14 sq., where the King of Tyre is compared with the cherub dwelling in the sacred mountain and walking in the midst of burning stones, protecting his province, called his "sanctuaries," v. 18 sq.: the epithet כְּרֻבִים is twice applied to כְּרֻבִים.

In order now to discover how this office of the cherubim consists with the other, above explained, we must inquire more particularly what is implied in the fact that the wings cover the mercy-seat of the ark.

## SEC. 7. SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHERUBIM.

### 3. *The Author's own View.*

According to many, the special symbolic office of the cherubim was to *guard the sacred ark* and the tables of the law preserved in it, as the most sacred of all treasures. This coincides, as they urge, with the great care with which God guards the integrity and authority of the law. (Cf. Ewald: *Alterthümer*, p. 139; Knobel: *Exodus und Leviticus*, p. 265; Thenius: *Die Bücher der Könige*, p. 79 — these following Abarbenel, cf. Buxtorf: *Historia arcæ fœderis*, p. 104.) This view is not without plausibility. God is often represented as protecting his

own people under the shadow of his wings. Cf. Ps. xvii. 8, xxxvi. 7, lvii. 1, lxi. 4, lxiii. 7, xci. 4, Ruth ii. 12, Mal. iv. 2. See also Jer. xlviii. 40, xlix. 22, where Nebuchadnezzar is compared to an eagle spreading out her wings over Moab and Bozrah; by which is meant that he is going to take possession of them. But, not to say that neither of these cases is strictly analogous to the one in question, there can be no doubt that the wings of the cherubim which were stretched out over the mercy-seat were designed, not to point to the ark and the tables of the law, but to *indicate the presence of God*. For the cherubim of the tabernacle are not said to cover the ark, but the *mercy-seat*, with their wings, Ex. xxv. 20, xxxvii. 9; and it is added, xxv. 22: "There I will meet with thee, and I will commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, *from between* the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the testimony, of all things which I will give thee in commandment unto the children of Israel." Does not this plainly imply that the wings of the cherubim were stretched out to overshadow the place where God manifested himself? Add to this the fact that the other images of the cherubim, those which were wrought in the linen curtains, on the veil of the holy place, on the doors of the temple, etc., cannot be easily understood to symbolize God's care for the ark, but do, as all admit, represent in some way the divine presence.

It being, as we have shown, the office of the outstretched wings, covering the mercy-seat, to indicate the presence of Jehovah, we must now go a step further. We read, Ex. xxv. 22, that God was to commune with Moses "*from between the two cherubim*" — an expression which suggests that the *wings* formed, as it were, a *pavilion in which God manifested his presence*. Cf. מְכַסֵּה, "Covering," Ex. xxv. 20, with סֹכֶה "hut," "booth." A forcible illustration of this view is also found in that frequent phrase יָשַׁב הַכְּרֻבִּים, commonly translated "dwelling above the cherubim" (in the English Version, "between the cherubim"), but which can grammatically be rendered in

no way but "*inhabiting the cherubim.*" And what is required by grammar is favored by all the representations of the case. The cherubim, placed on each side of Jehovah, and covering with their wings the mercy-seat, enclosed the manifested God as in a pavilion.

We are now prepared to enounce what seems to be the real significance of the cherubim: By the pavilion formed by their wings *the dazzling splendor of God in his manifestation of himself is so confined, concealed, subdued, that it is made endurable to the weakness of animate creatures, and especially of human nature.*

This view meets all the requirements of the case. It is confirmed by those descriptions of the insufferable glory of God which sometimes so filled the sanctuary that the priests could not remain. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11, 2 Chron. v. 13, 14, Ezek. x. 3, 4, Ex. xl. 34, 35, Lev. xvi. 2. It harmonizes with the fact that the cherubim made by Solomon overshadowed not only the sacred ark, but the whole of the holy place, inasmuch as their wings were extended from one wall to the other. It explains why the faces of these cherubim looked towards the outer part of the house, 2 Chr. iii. 13 (see sec. 2, note). This attitude indicated that the holy of holies was to be guarded from intrusion. It explains, as well as any other theory, why images of the cherubim were wrought in the curtains and on the walls and doors. These, as well as those in the holy of holies, signified the hiding of the divine glory from the full gaze of man. The cherubim then were living beings, whose office it was to prevent the glory of God from being baleful to man, and *upon whom God was supposed to sit, as he descended from heaven.* The symbolic significance of the cherubim is to be traced to the doctrine so frequently proclaimed in the Old Testament, that mortal men cannot endure the full presence of God. Whenever God did manifest himself, his glory had to be in some way concealed. This is specially represented as being done by the *cloud*, which filled the tabernacle or temple when God appeared. Following the analogy thus furnished, let us examine in detail



the representations of the cherubim given in the Old Testament.

#### SEC. 8. RELATION OF THE CHERUBIM TO THE CLOUD.

As God is in general represented as surrounded by clouds and darkness, Ps. xcvi. 2, Job xxii. 14, so especially in *theophanies*. "Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud," said the Lord unto Moses, Ex. xix. 9. Cf. Ex. xxiv. 16, Deut. iv. 11, Ex. xvi. 10, xxxiv. 5, Num. xi. 25. It was in a pillar of cloud that the Lord led the Israelites by day, Ex. xiii. 21, xiv. 19 et. al. He appeared in a cloud at the door of the tabernacle, Ex. xxxiii. 9, Num. xii. 5, 10, Deut. xxxi. 15. A cloud covered the tabernacle when it was filled with the glory of the Lord, Ex. xl. 34-38, Num. ix. 15-22. God appeared upon the mercy-seat of the tabernacle in a cloud, Lev. xvi. 2. So also the temple was sometimes filled with the cloud, 1 Kings viii. 10, 2 Chron. v. 13. And in the magnificent description of the theophany in Ps. xviii. the clouds and darkness are not omitted, *vv.* 9, 11.

But, while the cloud was designed to *veil* the glory of God, it served also as the medium through which God *disclosed* his glory. The clouds present God as the lord of winds, tempests, and lightnings. They are called "the secret place of thunder," Ps. lxxxi. 7; and fire, thunder, and lightning are often joined to clouds in descriptions of the appearance of the Lord, Ex. xix. 16, 18, xxiv. 17, Deut. v. 22, Ps. xviii. 12, 13. They are accompanied also by winds and earthquakes, Ps. xviii. 7, Is. lxvi. 15, 1 Kings xix. 11, sq. At night the cloud which preceded the Israelites presented the appearance of a fiery column, Ex. xl. 38, Num. ix. 15, 16. The cloud, therefore, at once concealed and revealed the majesty of God; hence the close conjunction of clouds and the divine glory, Ex. xvi. 10, xl. 34, 35, 1 Kings viii. 10, 11. The passages last quoted show that the cloud served to prevent the Holy One from being

too nearly approached. In like manner God is represented as protecting his people by a covering of clouds, Is. iv. 5, 6, Num. x. 34, Ps. cv. 39; especially worthy of mention is the defence thus furnished to the Israelites against the Egyptians, Ex. xiv. 19 sq.

Now we have already seen that the cherubim formed a pavilion in which God dwelt, and which served at the same time to mitigate the divine splendor in accommodation to the weakness of man. And we have just shown that the cloud had the same office. Furthermore, we read that God on Mount Sinai spoke "out of the midst of the cloud," Ex. xxiv. 16, just as in the tabernacle he spoke "from between the two cherubim," Ex. xxv. 22, Num. vii. 89. Every way, then, the same office seems to be assigned to each. They were the hiding of God's power; but they were also peculiarly the place where his honor dwelt.

Does there not lie in all this a hint that the cherubim *were nothing else than the clouds which veiled God in his manifestations of himself*, the clouds being reduced to the form of living beings? In favor of this view may be adduced: (1.) The analogy just alluded to between the cherubim and the cloud as the place from which God spoke, — an analogy made especially instructive by the fact that both are never mentioned together: in the only passage in the Pentateuch where a cloud is said to be over the mercy-seat, no cherubim are spoken of, Lev. xvi. 2. (2.) With the cherubim, as well as with the cloud, fiery splendor is intimately associated, Ps. xviii. 10-12, Ezek. x. 7. (3.) Both the clouds and the cherubim are represented as the vehicle of God in his descent from heaven, cf. Ps. civ. 3, Is. xix. 1, Nah. i. 3, Dan. vii. 13, with Ps. xviii. 10.

#### SEC. 9. MISCELLANEOUS PASSAGES EXAMINED.

In 1 Kings vii. 29 we read that images of cherubim were made on the paneling of the bases of the brazen lavers. Now

in these lavers the priests washed the flesh of the victims, 2 Chr. iv. 6; and this flesh was so sacred that whosoever touched it was ceremonially sanctified, Lev. vi. 18, 27. The cherubim on the bases, therefore, here served the same purpose as in the holy of holies. They signified that no one but the priests should touch the lavers.

The theory above propounded concerning the significance of the cherubim suffices perfectly to explain Gen. iii. 24. The cherubim and the flaming sword (or rather, the blade of a sword, cf. Hupfeld, Psalmen, Ps. lvii. 5) were placed on the east side of Paradise in order to guard the way of the tree of life. That is, they guarded the entrance to the place where God was peculiarly present (cf. Gen. iii. 8, xiv. 14), just as the cherubim on the veil which closed the entrance to the holy of holies, guarded from profane intrusion that place where God most especially manifested himself. The drawn sword which was joined to the cherubim only makes more clear that the office of the latter was to keep man from things too sacred for him.

Kindred to this representation is that of Ezek. xxviii. 14 sq., where the King of Tyre is called a cherub. The point of resemblance cannot be only in the king's uncommon beauty, wisdom, and power, vv. 3-5, 7, 12, 17, not only in the fact that he seemed to be exalted above human vicissitudes, and to be possessed of god-like dignity, vv. 2, 9, but also, and especially, in the fact that he had a residence surrounded and defended by the sea (cf. v. 2, "I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas"), from which he could repel enemies, as the cherubim kept men from the abode of the Deity. The cherub is said to have been on the holy mountain of God, vv. 14, 16, *i. e.*, in the abode of the Deity. This is called his sanctuary, v. 18, and the prophet evidently has in mind the cherubim which covered the ark, when he twice calls the king the "*covering cherub*," vv. 14, 16. The stones of fire correspond to the flaming sword which, with the cherubim, guarded the way to the tree of life.

## SEC. 10. EZEKIEL'S CHERUBIM.

It is obvious that the office of the cherubim in Ezekiel's visions is chiefly the secondary one assigned to them in Sec. 7, the one indicated in Ps. xviii. 10, viz., that of *conveying Jehovah wherever he wished to go*. This is expressly asserted in x. 18, 19, xi. 22, and is evident also from the close connection of the cherubim with the wheels, which were so animated by the spirit of the cherubim, that the motions of the latter controlled those of the former, i. 15-21, x. 9-17. The representation of Ps. xviii. 10, where God is borne on a cherub alone, as in a chariot, is here wrought up into a more complicated one. The cherubim, instead of bearing the Deity, draw the chariot in which he rides. Instead of one, there are four of them; and above their heads is an expanse on which God is enthroned, i. 22, 25, 26, x. 1. Together with the wheels they constitute a sort of carriage, of which their wings form the body, the wings of the several cherubim being extended so as to touch one another and form the sides of a square, i. 9, 11, 23, iii. 13.

From the form of the cherubim, as handed down by tradition, some changes, as we have seen (Sec. 1), were made by Ezekiel. Instead of one face, each of his cherubim has four; and their feet are like those of a calf. Moreover, following the example of Isaiah, Is. vi. 2, he adds two wings to each cherub, in order that they may with them cover their bodies. Then, for the sake of symmetry, he also doubles the number of the hands, i. 8.

But Ezekiel's whole description accords with our theory, that, like the cloud, the cherubim, though concealing the divine glory, yet cause it to shine forth. They appear surrounded by a dark cloud in a whirlwind, moving amidst fire, i. 4; and they themselves are said to have the appearance of fire, i. 13. There can be no doubt that in all these descriptions the glory of God is symbolized by the brilliant appearance of

the cherubim. This is confirmed by the account in x. 2, 6, of the coals of fire which were taken from the midst of the cherubim and scattered over Jerusalem: these signified the punishment visited upon it by God. The noise made by the cherubim's wings, i. 24, iii. 12, x. 5, was so terrible as to be comparable to nothing but the "voice of Jehovah." The eyes with which the bodies of the cherubim, and even the wheels, were full, i. 18, x. 12, must signify the untiring vigilance of God, cf. Zech. iv. 10, 2 Chr. xvi. 9, Ps. cxxi. 4. That each cherub had four faces, so as to be able to move forward in any direction without turning, symbolizes the omnipresence of God: everything is *before* him.

The question is sometimes asked: What particular attributes of Deity are signified by the several faces which Ezekiel assigns to the cherubim? This question can hardly be answered. Yet some significance the faces must have. That the cherubim, as representing, or being, rational creatures, should be spoken of as having a *human* face, is perfectly natural; and, as we have seen, his cherubim had a human form also in all other respects (except the feet). The addition now of the faces of the lion, the ox, and the eagle, cannot put these animals on a par with man as composing the cherub. They are only superadded to what was before regarded as essentially belonging to him. They are the representatives of the three classes of animals, so often mentioned in the Bible, the domestic animals, the wild beasts, and the fowls of heaven: the *lion* being proverbial for his dreadful strength, and therefore sometimes made emblematic of God in his vindictive power, Job. x. 16, Is. xxxviii. 13, Hos. v. 14, xiii. 7; the *ox* also symbolizing strength, but of a more beneficent kind, Deut. xxxiii. 17, being used, e. g., for drawing the sacred things, Num. vii. 3, 2 Sam. vi. 6, 1 Sam. vi. 7; the *eagle* representing unwearied activity and rapid and lofty flight, Jer. xlviii. 40, Is. xl. 31, 2 Sam. i. 23, Job ix. 26, xxxix. 27. The noblest specimens of the brute creation are thus made to contribute to the impressiveness of the vision of Jehovah.

## SEC. 11. THE CHERUBIM IN THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

As Ezekiel changed the traditional form of the cherubim, so did John. Like Ezekiel he makes their number four, but each one has only one of the four faces; and the whole body, in each case, corresponds with the face. At least, this seems to be the case, though in Rev. iv. 7, the only passage where the living creatures are described, it is said, "The third beast had a face as a man," whereas the other three are described as in all respects like the lion, the eagle, and the calf. Like the seraphs of Isaiah they each have six wings; and all their bodies, like those of Ezekiel's cherubim, are filled with eyes.

The *office* of these beasts seems in some respects to be different from that of the cherubim of the Old Testament. True, some of the main features are retained. They are plainly distinguished from angels, v. 11, vii. 11; and are closely connected with the throne of God, which, though they do not sustain it, yet they seem to guard; for they surround it, and permission to approach the throne comes from them, iv. 6, vi. 1, 3, 5, 7. They officiate in restraining and in issuing the expressions of divine vengeance, vi. 6, xv. 7 sq., cf. Ezek. x. 2, 6. Still, the original and proper significance of the cherubim is in this book a good deal obscured. They seem to have the office of the seraphs, that of proclaiming the holiness and majesty of God. The abundance of their eyes is expressly connected with this office, iv. 8. They do not here, as in Ezekiel, serve to bear the throne of God. And there is some plausibility in the theory that the cherubim of John represent the highest forms of living creatures: it is they that say "Amen," when all creatures in heaven, on the earth, and in the sea ascribe praises to the Lamb that was slain, v. 13, 14; and the four and twenty elders, when they are incited by the worship rendered by the four beasts to cast their crowns before the Lord, praise him

especially as the *Creator* of all things, iv. 9, 10, 11. But the principal office of these beasts after all was, as we have said, to celebrate the majesty and holiness of God.

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## ARTICLE II.

### UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS.

IN the *Congregational Quarterly* for April last, some account\* is given of certain "Selections from the Unpublished Writings of JONATHAN EDWARDS, of America, Edited from the Original MSS., with Facsimilies, and an Introduction. By the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, Kinross, Scotland," three hundred copies of which have been "printed for private circulation," but not published. These Selections are specimens of materials obtained in this country, by Mr. Grosart, for a new "collective edition" of Edwards's Works, who came from Scotland for the purpose, some fourteen or fifteen years ago. They are transcribed from the original MSS. now in Scotland. As the "complete collective edition" half-promised after the "deplorable Civil War," does not appear, and the Edwardean MSS. are in process of being scattered, we call attention to two of these Selections.†

The first, not the longest however, which the Scotch possessor of these relics of our greatest man calls the "treasure of the whole," is an essay upon the Holy Spirit — a subject peculiarly lost sight of at the present day in our theologizing, and, it is to be feared, in much, very much, of our religious experience. The MS. was "found by itself, carefully placed

\* Article on "President Edwards as a Reformer."

† "But two copies in the United States."

within folds of thick paper, and tied up with a silk ribbon." "Many of the pages have interlineations and erasures; but there can be no doubt that the MS. was intended for publication." It would make about forty pages in the common editions of his works, the New York one of Leavitt, Trow & Co., or that of Robert Carter & Brothers, published last year. One can but con it with singular interest. The views of such a man on such a topic are of commanding importance.

Not quite prepared for publication — as the President himself would have prepared it — it has the characteristics of deep thinking, wondrous insight into vital truth, and cogent showing forth of the mind of God which belong to his great writings.

It is a treatise on "GRACE," in three chapters; in the first of which he maintains that "Common and Saving Grace differ not only in degree, but in nature and kind," in the second, that "all Saving Grace summarily consists in Love;" and in the third, that "a Principle of Grace is from the Spirit of God." The distinct personality and absolute equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son are set forth in ways peculiar to Edwards's mind, and very striking. He seems to be aware of grave and large defects in former views, for once he observes: "If we suppose *no more than used to be supposed* about the Holy Ghost, the honour of the Holy Ghost in the work of Redemption is not equal in any sense to the Father's and the Son's. Merely to apply to us, or immediately to give or hand to us blessing purchased, *after it is purchased*, is subordinate to the other two Persons, is but a little thing to . . . Christ's offering up Himself a sacrifice to procure it; and 'tis but a little thing to God the Father's giving His infinitely dear Son to be a sacrifice for us to procure this good." Although the great Vicarious Sacrifice is necessary, in the Edwardean conception, to Vital Grace in the heart, and is the purchase of it, the latter is *the very thing purchased* by the Atonement. So he goes on to say: "To be the thing purchased is as much as to be the price that purchased it. *The price, and the thing bought with that price,*



*answer each other in value."* Jealous as he ever showed himself to be for the glory of the *Son* in Redemption, in this treatise (ere long to be given to the world, we trust), he shows himself equally jealous for the glory of the Spirit.

Edwards was far enough from denying or forgetting that much which falls short of salvation is the work of the Holy Ghost. This is what he means precisely by "*Common Grace.*" "Men's natural faculties and principles," he says, "may be assisted by the operation of the Spirit of God on their minds, to enable them to exert those acts, which, to a greater or less degree, they exert naturally. As when He assists natural conscience and convictions of sin and danger. (So) the Spirit of God may produce effects upon inanimate things, as of old He moved on the face of the waters." But he does not call these spiritual effects, and he regards such men as still "natural men that have no grace." "Grace in the hearts of the saints is called spiritual, *in distinction from other things* that are the effects of the Spirit in the hearts of men." That is, it is supernatural, not only as to source, but as to the phenomena. It is not only called spiritual in the Scriptures, he observes, but "spirit." And this "no otherwise than as the name of the Third Person in the Trinity is ascribed to it. As though that principle in the saints were no other than the Spirit of God itself, united to the soul, and living and acting in it, and exerting itself in the use and improvement of its faculties. As a vital principle dwelling there and exerting Himself by the faculties of the soul of man, in His own proper nature, after the manner of a principle of nature." "I suppose there is no other principle of *grace in the soul* than the very Holy Ghost dwelling in the soul, and acting there as a vital principle." "So that when they act grace, 'tis, in the language of the Apostle, 'not they, but Christ living in them.' Hence the Spirit of God seems in Sacred Scripture to be spoken of as a quality of the persons in whom it resided. So that they are called spiritual persons." He sets aside that low sense of the

word "spiritual," which our Unitarians have striven to make the only one. The Divine principle in the heart, he says, "is called spiritual, not because of its relation to the spirit of man in which it is, but because of its relation to the Spirit of God from which it is." And more than this, its effects are of the same nature with itself, instead of being of the nature of the spirit of man. "This saving grace in the soul is not only from the Spirit (as are conviction of sin, common illuminations, &c., in the minds of some natural men), but it also partakes of the nature of that Spirit that it is from, which the common grace of the Spirit does not." "Things are said to be heavenly, as they in nature agree with those things that are in heaven; so saving grace in the heart is said to be spiritual, and therein distinguished from all other influences of the Spirit that it is of the nature of the Spirit of God."

Edwards represents the nature of the Holy Spirit as follows:

"He is often spoken of (in Scripture) as a person, revealed under personal characters and in personal acts, of being acted on as a person, and the Scripture plainly ascribes every thing to Him that properly denotes a distinct person."

"Though all the divine perfections are to be attributed to each person of the Trinity, yet the Holy Ghost is in a peculiar manner called by the name of Love." His dwelling in us and His love dwelling in us is the indwelling of the Spirit. This is the way in which Christ dwells in saints. "That the *love* . . . may be in them and I in them." "The beloved disciple once and again speaks of Love's dwelling in the saints, and the Spirit's dwelling in them [as] being the same thing." "If Love dwells in us we know God dwells in us indeed, for it is a thing granted that God's Spirit is God."

"So that as the Son of God is spoken of as the wisdom, understanding, and *Λογος* of God, and is, as Divines express things, THE PERSONAL WISDOM of God; so the Spirit of God is spoken of as the Love of God, and may with equal foundation and propriety be called THE PERSONAL LOVE of God. We

read in the beloved disciple's writings of these two — *Λόγος* and *Ἁγία* both of which are said to be God, One is the Son of God, the other the Holy Spirit."

"Hence the Scripture symbol of the Holy Ghost is a dove, which is the emblem of love, and so was continually accounted in the heathen world, and is also made use of as an emblem of love in the Holy Scriptures. This bird God is pleased to choose as the special symbol of His Holy Spirit in the greatest office or work of the Spirit that ever it has or will exert, viz., in anointing Christ, the great Head of the whole Church of saints."

"Hence 'tis to be accounted for, that though we often read in Scripture of the Father loving the Son, and the Son loving the Father, yet we never once read either of the Father or the Son loving the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit loving either of Them. It is because the Holy Spirit *is the Divine love itself.*"

"Both the holiness and happiness of the Godhead consist in this love." "Hence the Spirit of God, the third person in the Trinity, is so often called the Holy Spirit, as though "Holy" were an epithet some way or other peculiarly belonging to Him, which can be no other way than that the holiness of God does consist in Him." [Note here the Edwardean principle that love is holiness.]

"Any one is said to have communion of anything with respect to that thing they partake of in common with others. Hence in the apostolic benediction: "the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the communion or partaking of the Holy Ghost." The blessing inshed is but one, viz., the Holy Spirit. To partake of (this) is to have that love of the Father and the grace of the Son."

"It follows that the Holy Spirit is the *summum* of all good. 'Tis the fulness of God. All the grace and comfort that persons here have, and all their holiness and happiness hereafter, consist in the love of the Spirit, spoken of, Rom. xv. 30, and joy in the Holy Ghost, xiv. 17."

“Hence we may better understand the economy of the Persons of the Trinity, as it appears in the part that each one has in Redemption, and shows the equality of each person concerned, and the equality of honor and praise due to each of Them. Glory belongs to the Father that He so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son. To the Son that He so loved the world that He gave Himself. But there is equal glory due to the Holy Ghost, because He is the Love of the Father and of the Son that flows out primarily towards God, and secondarily towards man.”

The other treatise is a briefer one, occupying about two pages. We give it entire. It seems to have been a pastoral directory for his own use.

“DIRECTIONS FOR JUDGING OF PERSONS’ EXPERIENCES.

**See to it**

That the operation be much upon the Will or Heart, not on the Imagination, nor on the speculative understanding or motions of the mind, though they draw great affections after ’em as the consequence.

That the trouble of mind be reasonable, that the mind be troubled about those things it has reason to be troubled about; and that the trouble seems mainly to operate in such a manner, with such a kind of trouble and exercise as is reasonable; founded on reasonable, solid consideration; a solid sense and conviction of truth, as of things as they are indeed.

That it be because their state appears terrible because of those things, wherein its dreadfulness indeed consists; and that their concern be solid, not operating very much by pangs and sudden passions, freaks and frights, and a capriciousness of mind.

That under their seeming convictions it be sin indeed; that they are convinced of their guilt, in offending and affronting so great a God; One that so hates sin, and is so set against it, to punish it, &c.

That they be convinced both of sins of heart and life; that their pretenses of sense of sin of heart ben't without reflection on their wicked practices; and also that they are not only convinced of sin of practice, but sin of heart. And in both that what troubles 'em be those things wherein their wretchedness has really chiefly consisted.

That they are convinced of their spiritual sins, consisting in their sinful defects, living without love to God, without accepting Christ, gratitude to Him, &c.

That the convictions they have of the insufficiency and vanity of their own doings ben't only from some sense of wanderings of mind, and other sinful behaviour mixed; but from a conviction of the sinful defects of their duties, their not being done from a right principle; and so as having no goodness at all mixed with the bad, but altogether corrupt.

That it is truly conviction of sin that convinces them of the justice of God in their damnation, in rejecting their prayers, disregarding their sorrowful case, and all desires and endeavours after deliverance, &c., and not merely any imagination or pang, and melting of affection through some real or supposed instance of Divine goodness.

That they be so convinced of sin as not in the inward thought and habit of their minds to excuse themselves, and impliedly quarrel with God, because of their impotency; for instance, that they don't excuse their slight of Christ, and want of love to Him, because they can't esteem and love Him.

That they don't evidently themselves look on their convictions [as] great, and ben't taken with their own humiliation.

That which should be chiefly looked at should be *evangelical*. If this be sound, we have no warrant to insist upon it, that there be manifest a remarkable work, purely legal, wherein was nothing of grace. So with regard to Convictions and Humiliations; only seeing to it that the mind is indeed convinced of these things, and sees 'em; [sees] that [which] many Divines insisted should be seen, under a purely legal work. And also

seeing to it that the convictions there are, seem to be deep and fixed, and to have a powerful governing influence on the temper of the mind, and a very direct respect to practice.

### See to it

That they have not only pretended convictions of sin ; but a proper mourning for sin. And also that sin is burdensome to them, and that their hearts are tender and sensible with respect to it. . . . the object of their care and dread.

That God and Divine things are admirable on account of the beauty of their moral perfection.

That there is to be discovered in their sense of the sufficiency of Christ, a sense of that Divine, supreme, and spiritual excellency of Christ, wherein this sufficiency fundamentally consists ; and, that the sight of this excellency is really the foundation of their satisfaction as to His sufficiency.

That their conviction of the truth of Divine things be discerned to be truly some way or other primarily built on a sense of their Divine excellency.

That their discoveries and illuminations and experiences in general, are not superficial pangs, flashes, imaginations, freaks, but solid, substantial, deep, inwrought into the frame and temper of their minds, and discovered to have respect to practice.

That they long after HOLINESS, and that all their experiences increase their longing.

Let 'em be inquired of concerning their disposition and willingness to bear the Cross, sell all for Christ, choosing their portion in heaven, &c.

Whether their experience have a respect to PRACTICE in these ways. That their behavior at present seems to be agreeable to such experiences.

Whether it inclines 'em much to think of Practice, and more and more for past ill practice.

Makes a disposition for ill practices dreadful.

Makes 'em long after perfect freedom from sin, and after those things wherein *Holiness* consists; and by fixed and strong resolutions, attended with fear and jealousy of their own hearts.

Whether, when they tell of their experiences, it is not with such an air that you, as it were, feel that they expect to be admired and applauded, and [whether they] won't be disappointed if they fail of discerning in you something of that nature; and shocked and displeased if they discover the contrary.

Enquire whether their joy be truly and properly joy in God and in Christ; joy in Divine Good; or whether it ben't wholly joy in themselves, joy in their own excellencies or privileges, in their experiences; what God has done for them, or what He has promised He will do for them; and whether they ben't affected with their own discoveries and affections."

This pithy and solid paper shows Edwards's views of "the nature of virtue" in a practical light, and whether he regarded self-love as the source of it, — as has been with some temerity represented. It also shows how he made his views practical in the rooting and grounding of regenerate or Christian character. It shows how metaphysical acuteness may give a pastor power in discriminating between the real and the unreal in religion, and how wonderfully and intensely searching his own discrimination was. In times when so many deny and slur all such testing of men by the truth, this is a most interesting relic of better days.

## ARTICLE III.

## THE RHETORICAL FIGURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE works of God admit of examination in detail, and our admiration of them is enhanced no less by the microscope than by the telescope. To this rule the Bible is no exception. We admire not only its completeness with respect to the object for which it was designed, the immense sweep of its doctrinal teaching, and the adaptation and adjustment of part to part, but also the exquisite finish of each separate particular, as though such particular were itself fashioned for a masterpiece. Of this fact the rhetorical figures of the Scriptures are a good example. And yet they relate more to the form than to the substance of the Book, — are ornamental rather than essential, — are aside of the main drift of historic and didactic statement, so that, if we were to look for lapses and special imperfections in any part of the sacred writings, it should seem that here they would most abound. Ill considered and inappropriate figures, moreover, are the special weakness of immature writers. In nothing does one show a good literary taste, or the lack of it, more than in his illustrative imagery. It is so easy, for instance, to be grotesque in the effort to be striking and graphic, and to pass over the line from what is simply refined, and elegant in illustration, to that which is far-fetched and finical. We believe, however, that even a cursory examination of some of the rhetorical figures of the Old Testament will both enrich our estimate of the Bible as a literary achievement, and also increase our reverence for it as a divine revelation expressly adapted to human need.

First, there is a natural and proper taste, noticeable in the distribution of the numerous figures of the Old Testament. They are far from being equally distributed throughout the



volume. In the historical and narrative portions there are very few, while in the prophetic and poetical parts they abound. In the first thirty-one chapters of Deuteronomy, for instance, which are made up of historical and explanatory discourses, the illustrations which occur may almost be counted on the fingers, while in the thirty-second chapter, announced as the "Song of Moses," they are found in nearly every verse. So the book of Hosea, the prophet of the idolatry, apparently aiming at startling effects, is packed with striking figures of speech, spread over with strong and glaring colors, while the book of Jonah, appearing at about the same time, contains a simple narrative of facts, and is quite free from imagery. We should expect to find in David, the shepherd singer of Israel, and in Solomon, the student of nature, "who spoke of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall," a superior richness and beauty of varied imagery, and we are not disappointed. There is no inappositeness or incongruity in the Scriptures in this respect. The colors are laid on where they are needed, and when they are needed, the simple touch to mark the outline and blend the parts for the grand effect.

Again, there is a nice *discrimination* observable in the sacred writers in suiting the illustration to the nature of the subject presented. Simple themes are simply attired, while that which is sublime is shown to be akin to the sublimities in all spheres. Each Scriptural sentiment may be known by the company it keeps. Allowing for the necessary anthropomorphism of all human representations of God, could there be a more fitting adumbration of the divine attributes than that found in the Old Testament writers? He sits on the circle of the heavens; his garment, the light; his voice, the thunder. He weighs the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance. How lofty and awe inducing, as well as inherently beautiful, the imagery that Ezekiel, with delicate pencil, employs for the same purpose! The "likeness of a throne," "the color of amber," "the

appearance of a fire," "the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain," — so rich and lavish the coloring used to depict the "likeness of the glory of the Lord." Sometimes, it is true, we find the name ineffably associated with what, in itself considered, is commonplace and trifling, as when it is said, "God is a rock;" "The Lord is a shield and buckler;" or again, as when he is compared to an eagle fluttering over her young. But in all such instances there is some side thought suggested, some richness and tenderness of covert association that quite redeems the figure from any belittling effect. So, throughout the volume, we find the same unerring relevancy and appropriateness of figure to sentiment. What less than harlotry could fittingly characterize the enormity of idol worship? And the prophet sees the evil kings that are to rise as so many fierce beasts ravenous of prey. Guilt is a "spotted garment." A sinful life is a "crooked path," and the frivolous worldling "feeds on ashes." Even as far back as Enoch, to be devout is to "walk with God." To break away from sinful practices, already become a second nature, was no less difficult formerly than now, and is like the effort of "an Ethiopian to change his skin, or a leopard his spots." "Words fitly spoken" have a shining memento, and are "apples of gold in a net-work of silver." How pertinent and full of suggestion to say to Israel, still sore and weary from their wilderness life, that, in the event of their failure to drive out all the idolatrous tribes of Canaan, the remnant should be "pricks in their eyes and thorns in their sides." What an aroma of sweetness breathes from the picture of a "watered garden," as an image of the soul that God has blessed. It is the truthfulness and explicit suitableness of these figures that especially commend them to our judgment.

Again, we are pleased to discover no anachronisms in the rhetorical figures employed so profusely by the Old Testament writers. The book covers an immense period, has a wide circle of different authors who wrought in circumstances where

collusion would be impossible, and yet, evidently, each draws water "out of his own cistern," each clothes his thought in a costume suited to its age and country, simple as of necessity such a costume must be. As when the prophet Amos uses the picturesque figure of "a cart pressed with sheaves," and the writer of the Proverbs pictures incongruity by "jewels of gold in a swine's snout," speaks of "lying down on the top of a mast," and compares a lazy person turning wearily on his bed to a "door swinging on its hinges," we are able to demonstrate from contemporaneous history that such figures have a sufficient basis in the arts and usages of common life at that time. The art of weaving seems to have been coeval with the very dawn of civilization. Before the Exodus Joseph had his vesture of fine linen. Hence it causes no surprise to read in Job that our days are "swifter than a weaver's shuttle;" or from what we know of dispatches and swift messengers to read from the pen of the same writer, that our lives pass like "the post." Israel, it is said, is brought out of an "iron furnace," even out of Egypt. With our current notions of what the ancients knew of iron moulding, this illustration startles us. Once, indeed, it was supposed that the allusions to iron in the Pentateuch, were strangely out of place, but recent discoveries in Egypt have happily proved the contrary. And the use of iron at all in those early times, implies the existence of furnaces capable of generating heat equal to 3000° Fahrenheit. It is to be confessed, however, that references to brass in the imagery of the earlier books of the Bible — Deut. xxxii. 25; "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass," — are not justified by contemporaneous records. But such references are only found in our translation and cannot justly be imputed to the original. The word "copper" or perhaps in some cases, "bronze," would more properly translate the original word interpreted in our version as "brass." (See Smith's Bib. Dict. Art. "Brass.") The practice of shaving the head after the completion of a vow, made the use of razors among the Israelites an early and

urgent necessity. It was no inadvertence therefore, but a most telling application of a well-known custom when a prophet of the captivity announced that the Lord should shave Israel with a hired razor — “by the King of Assyria” — should shave not only the head, but also the beard and the hair of the limbs. It is no insignificant circumstance, when the multiform theories of disbelievers concerning the origin of the Bible are considered, that it is able to respond to a test so unlooked-for and so simple, and yet so searching and satisfactory when universally applied.

We observe also, oftentimes, especially in the poetical and prophetic portions of the volume, great boldness and splendor of imagery, indicative of a power and control of the imagination unsurpassed in any literature. Apostrophe, parable, *proso-popœia* and hyperbole are all used with striking effect, and the grandest and most elevating objects of nature — mountains, forests, ocean waves, rifted storm clouds, and movements and sheen of starry worlds, made to contribute freely their aid in setting vividly forth the divine truth. How deftly the most sublime conceptions are handled in the ancient song of Deborah and Barak, recorded in the book of Judges: “They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon.” So elegantly and appropriately is the power of the Almighty acknowledged as having determined the issue of battle. And what a reserve of imaginative power the writer of the book of Job suggests when a single dash of the pen sets before us the image of death as the “King of Terrors.” In the 18th Psalm David employs the very difficult figure of a thunder-storm to depict the experiences of his life, and the divine deliverance. It should seem that the scenery is almost too grand to be made the setting of any human life. At least, in a picture demanding such daring contrasts, the least clumsiness of touch would discover itself. But the inspired poet seems never to be at a loss, nowhere weakens, or shows the least striving for effect; never overloads his thought, but moves

throughout with the utmost grace and spontaneity. It would be scarcely possible to find, clothed in human language, conceptions more hazardous and audacious, so to speak, than those of Isaiah, in the 14th chapter of his prophecy, where he "takes up his proverb" against Sennacherib, king of Babylon. The whole earth is represented as singing at his overthrow. "Yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, 'Since thou art laid down no feller is come up against us.'" Even the world of the dead looks with eager interest on the defeat of this scourge of the nations. "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming." And then follows that magnificent apostrophe: "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" Keeping in view all the circumstances of the case — how many peoples bent under the iron sway of Sennacherib, the multitude of lives sacrificed in his bloody campaigns, especially the awful visitation of Jehovah, by which, in a single night, 185,000 warriors of his own invincible host were mysteriously swept away, the annals of nations will be challenged in vain to produce a more sublime or fitting memento of a fallen, wicked king. The prophet Ezekiel too, (Ez. 31st chap.) treats of one of the royal representatives of Egypt, in imagery only less sumptuous and consummate. He is a tall cedar in Lebanon, with "fair branches" and a "shadowing shroud." "His top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great." "The cedars in the garden of God could not hide him." But because of his pride and his wickedness he fell. "Upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen." The nations shook at the sound of his fall. Lebanon mourned for him, and all the trees of the field fainted in the day when he went down. How admirably is the figure managed in its minutest details! And, like a solemn finger-post, pointing silently toward the mournful ruin, is the closing thought: "This is Pharaoh and all his multitude, saith the Lord God." One more illustration of the many that offer themselves under this head, we may present. It is drawn

from that store-house of bright-hued pictures, — the book of Hosea. Into the mouth of the Lord the eager prophet puts the most moving language of tenderness and affection towards Israel. They should no longer call him “Lord,” but “Husband.” He would make a covenant with the beasts, and the fowls, and the creeping things, on their behalf. He would betroth them unto him. And then succeeds in unequalled climax the imposing personification: “I will hear, saith the Lord. I will ‘hear and answer’ the heavens, and they will ‘hear and answer’ the earth, and the earth shall ‘hear and answer’ the corn, and the wine, and the oil, and they shall hear and answer *Jezreel*” — “the seed of God.” It adds greatly to the significance of this figure to know the history of *Jezreel*, once famous in the reign of Ahab, and now again, to go back to its original meaning as derived from the beauty and fertility of the rich plain in which it was situated, and to be itself the pledge of the revived beauty and richness of Israel. (See Smith’s Bib. Dict., Art. *Jezreel*.)

A study of the figures of the Old Testament, moreover, shows that its writers were interested and acute observers of nature. It impressed them not vaguely, or in the way of stolid wonderment alone. There was insight and discrimination. There was a rare choice of what is peculiarly picturesque and striking, such as would reflect credit even on an age more modern and scientific. They had a delighted ear, for example, to lend to the classic “echo,” as well as we, and sometimes shouted till “the earth rang again.” They saw the skies stretched above them like a “molten looking-glass,” — as our version has it, — but more properly a mirror of polished metal. Had they seen its reflection in the pools of the Jordan, or in the quiet waters of some wilderness lake? The balancings of the clouds had been their study, as it is still ours. They felt the sweet influence of Pleiades. So, too, the habits of animals were rich in suggestion to their thoughtful minds. The mighty North people, before whom the heart of Babylon’s mighty monarch, even, should faint, reminded them of the king of beasts at bay,

the maddened lion driven from his reedy covert, a lion "from the swellings of Jordan." Israel, neglectful of her natural duties, was the stupid ostrich hatching her eggs in the sand. The distressed and harassed soul seeking refuge in God was the hunted bird flying from the pursuit of the fowler into the thicket of the mountain woods. And in still wider gleanings of fancy, the pale, thin grass of the housetop, that "withereth afore it groweth up, wherewith the mower filleth not his hand; nor he that findeth sheaves his bosom;" and the tiny reed quivering and swaying in the water-course; and the bowed head of the rush smitten by the tempest; the sudden outbreathing of confined waters; the quick response of a grateful earth to shower and sunshine; the smoke of camp fires shaping itself into beautiful, moving pillars, and the sparks that fly upward; the mountains girded with strength, the pearly dew; the roar of forest and of waterfall, cloud shadows, and the shadows of evening, the "spring of the day," and the matchless panorama of the stars, with a host of equally attractive subjects furnished the sacred writers even in the youth of the world with similes abundant and fitting for their peculiar and inimitable work.

There is besides a delicacy and daintiness of touch sometimes, as distinguished from what is broad and trite, both in the sentiment and expression of these figurative illustrations, that imparts to them an unwonted charm. As when in covert compliment to the grace of a thankful heart, Jehovah is addressed as One who *inhabits the praises of Israel*. The same graceful pen writing, maybe, under the shadow of some dark affliction, informs us that light is *sown* for the righteous. And another, struggling with the same mystery, the mystery of all the ages, sees the valley of Achor, — trouble, — as a "door of hope." How wearisome a circumlocution would be needed to express without his picture all that David meant when he said: "My prayer returned into mine own bosom." The impossibility of being silent when the commotion of inward thought becomes vehement, is thus exquisitely expressed: "My heart was hot



within me; while I was musing the fire burned. Then spake I with my tongue." The perplexed Asaph declares that he had "washed his hands in innocency." It was more than the Roman Governor did with his simulated integrity. The "shock of corn that cometh in in its season," is the suggestive symbol of a life rounded to its full term, and complete in the attainment of its purposed end. What an experience went before the phrase, "the stony heart"! How the joy of harvest comes, sometimes in advance, to quicken the plodding feet of him who "goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed." You almost detect the eariness and shiver of fright in the well selected words that describe it thus: "The sound of a shaken leaf shall drive them." It was out of bereavment wellnigh hopeless that the plaint came, "So they shall quench my coal that is left." There is sparkle, and glow, and unequalled richness of thought in Malachi's image where he compares the coming Messiah to the sun, although it waits on none of our later theories of light. "The Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings." And no less so even though the prophet may have borrowed his figure from one of the striking hieroglyphics of Egypt. Dr. Richardson saw in the ruins of the temple of Dendera, "immediately over the doorway, the beautiful Egyptian ornament usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematic of the glorious sun poised in the airy firmament of heaven, supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of Deity." We know not in what modern school of esthetics these authors of the distant past could have learned the masterly art of "putting things" to better advantage than they seem to have learned it in the school of simple nature and under the movings of the Holy Ghost.

Still further, we occasionally discover in the figurative language of the Old Testament, more particularly in the writings of Solomon, a kind of sportive humor not uncommon in human experience as an outcropping along side of the deepest and most solemn thought. The humorous in sentiment, however,



a facetious posing of ideas, seems never to be sought after on its own account in the sacred writings, nor on the other hand does a term of expression seem to be avoided because it falls out to be somewhat epigrammatic and comical. The Bible would not be the completely human book that it is, if it gave no hint that there is a humorous side to our nature. It informs us that there is a "time to laugh." And itself gives us occasion sometimes, at least, to smile at a happy retort, or an odd expression. Nothing that is simply and purely human does it disdain. It was "written not with an angel's plume, but with a reed from Jordan." And such a complete humanness, so far from casting a shadow on the divinity of the Book, should seem to be rather, according to the governing pattern of the Master, one of the conditions of it. These inspired authors, it is evident, were endowed with no supernatural force that hindered the free movement of any unperverted power of their own; felt no inspiration that rapt and absorbed them out of the common experiences of humanity. There is that superlative parable of the one ewe lamb, for instance, in which Nathan appears to such advantage before his royal *protégé*. It deals with the most solemn facts. It is thrillingly pathetic. And yet, we can scarcely suppress a smile at the clever manipulation of it, when we see David led so unsuspectingly into the concealed trap, and hear its sharp teeth close upon the arrant sinner in the startling words: "Thou art the man." It is not difficult, again, to detect a certain dry humor which, while it recognizes misfortunes, is inclined to make the best of them, in Solomon's method of treating the common scold, for whom our fathers, not many generations back, invented the laughable device of the ducking-stool. Her wordy clamor, he says, is a "continual dropping." One can no more fly from her than from the wind or the "ointment of his right hand which bewrayeth itself." The same writer apparently feels no compassion for dullards and lazy folk. In a few well-known expressions he has set them in the stocks of perpetual ridicule. They undertake

nothing, because, forsooth, the lion of too much work roars on every path; they turn on their couches like a door turning and creaking on its hinges; they hide their hand in their bosom and count it too great an effort to bring it to their mouth again. Into what a foolish predicament, and mood of disgust, one is sometimes brought by interfering needlessly with the contentions of others. Solomon says, he is like a man who "taketh a dog by the ears." He is equally in peril, whether he holds on or loosens his hold. And with what a keen edge of satire he dashes at the heedlessness and utter unthrift of certain ones whom it would be hopeless to move without something that will prick or will sting. "Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar, among wheat, with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him." It was a clever hand that wrote of the wizards, as those "that peep and that mutter." Who would dare face the obloquy of consulting them after that? Recall Elijah's stinging sarcasm, also, at Carmel: "Cry aloud, for he is a god! Either he is talking, or he is fuming, or he is on a journey; or, perchance, he sleepeth and must be awakened." Even the "weeping prophet," as he has been called, strikes the risible cord sometimes so nearly allied to that of tears: "Can a maid forget her ornaments? Yet, my people have forgotten me." And was it not intended that the very whimsicalness of the comparison should induce the greater shame and self-humiliation in Israel, when it is said of it, "Jeshuran waxed fat and kicked"?

Finally, we may learn from the figures of speech generally employed by the sacred writers not a little concerning the moral and social plans on which the Hebrews habitually moved. If we were able to find in a certain language no word and no image representing the idea of gratitude, we might be reasonably sure that the idea of gratitude did not exist in the minds of that people, — and *vice versa*. And while it is true that the Scriptures were designed to introduce new ideas, correct those which were false, and lift the people to the very highest standard of

thought and life, it is also true that the language in which it is couched sprung from the people, and gives us, to some extent, a correct although an unintended and unexpected view of the national life. The still convenient phrase, for instance, every man "under his own vine and under his own fig-tree," discloses to us the fact of a quiet and prosperous home-life in those early days. Abraham was to be a "covering of the eyes" to Sarah his wife, and we infer something that answered to womanly modesty. There was the bond of the most intimate fellowship and friendship, where soul was "knit" to soul. There was paternal tenderness, in its most affectionate aspect, so that Moses was understood when he asked if he was to carry the Israelites to Caanan, "as a nursing father carrieth the sucking child." Reputation, too, was a sacred thing. Albeit nothing like the modern law of libel frowned from their statute books. The tale-bearer and slanderer runs a fearful gantlet of adverse criticism. His tongue is a bow. His teeth are spears. And the man who steals "*the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in*," — the canting hypocrite — is held up to all men's detestation by one who had suffered at his hands. "His words," says David, smarting from his wounds, "were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart; his words were softer than oil, yet were drawn swords." They lived under a severe ritual, but cheerfulness was accounted no crime. It had become a proverb: "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine." There was reverence for age, and the "hoary head" excited profound respect. The people of God's adoption, they had learned the lesson of generosity, and a mutual helpfulness not yet forgotten. Woe betide the sceptered prince who sought to "grind the faces of the poor." It was a high ideal of life which allowed not even peccadilloes to pass unnoticed; on whose clear, bright background even a little folly was prominent, like the fly caught in amber.

Now, perhaps, these figurative illustrations, to which we have called attention in the foregoing pages, have hitherto been, in

the case of many, too much among the "unnoticed things of Scripture." We would fain help to a conviction that they are not to be despised. There is nothing of small account in the Bible, as it is God's book. He that marks the drooping of a sparrow's wing, and who gave directions even concerning the staves, and curtains, and tacks of the ancient sanctuary, has neglected nothing in the edge, or temper, or polish of this "sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God." And if the "spirit of a man is the lamp of the Lord," it cannot but be his high privilege to search out the path which the Lord has taken, through the mystery of a book revelation, and, in a still higher sense than the great Scientist meant it, "think God's thoughts after him."

We perceive, moreover, in such a survey of one of the minor features of the Word, how many-sided are the defences that it presents to hostile attacks. Its "root is spread out by the waters," and not one fiber only, but thousands must be loosened before this growth of the ages can be overthrown. To the high-flown pretensions and boastful challenge of a sceptical philosophy, advancing to assault the Scriptures, like Benhadad with his bravado against Samaria, we may answer in the keen retort of Israel's king: "Tell him, 'Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.'"

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#### ARTICLE IV.

##### JULIAN.

THE last of the old heathen infidels, who signalized themselves by their assaults upon Christianity, was the Emperor Julian. He was the son of Julius Constantius, a brother of Constantine the Great, and was born at Constantinople, in the

year of Christ 331. He was but six years of age when Constantine died ; soon after which his father and most of the family were put to death. Julian escaped on account of his tender age ; and an elder brother, Gallus, who was in feeble health, and who, it was thought, could not live long, was spared also. Constantius, a son of Constantine, who reigned in the East, and who, after a few years, became sole emperor, took care that the lads should have a Christian education. They were sent to Nicomedia, and placed under the care of the Arian bishop, Eusebius. Here they prayed and fasted, and celebrated the memory of the martyrs. They paid the usual reverence to the bishops, sought the blessing of monks and hermits, and read the Scriptures in the church. This kind of life was repulsive to Julian. It led him to think unfavorably of Christianity, and to prefer, instead, the old heathenism of Rome.

When Julian was fourteen years old, he and his brother were sent to a castle in Cappadocia, where they lived at ease, but were strictly guarded. Their home was little better than a prison. Five years later, they came to Constantinople, and Gallus was made Caesar. He was married to Constantia, a sister of the Emperor, and sent into the East against the Persians. His conduct of the war was unsatisfactory to Constantius, who summoned him back into Italy ; but before reaching there, he was arrested and put to death.

Meanwhile, Julian retired into Bythinia, where he studied and imitated the orations of Libanius, a heathen sophist, whom he was strictly forbidden to hear. At Pergamus he became acquainted with several philosophers, particularly with Maximus, the Ephesian, by whom he was made acquainted with the mysteries of theurgy, and persuaded to renounce his profession of Christianity. But his change of religion could not yet be made public. It must be closely concealed. And that he might the more effectually cheat those by whom he was watched, he shaved his head, and assumed the garb of a monk. While he was privately studying heathen philosophy, he was ordained a public reader in the church.

After the death of his brother, Julian was summoned to meet the Emperor at Milan, where he was placed under guard, and narrowly escaped with his life. The Empress Eusebia interceded for him, and he was permitted to travel in Greece. This was particularly pleasing to Julian, who had long wished to complete his studies at Athens; and the Emperor preferred that he should engage in literary pursuits, and not meddle with politics. At Athens, Julian met Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, — eminent Christian scholars, — who were here studying eloquence, and other branches of polite learning. He was himself privately initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. \*

But Julian was not suffered to remain long in Greece. Before the end of the year, he was called back to Milan, where he was declared Cæsar, and sent into Gaul to take command of the army there. At the same time, Constantius gave him his sister Helena in marriage.

Julian left Milan on the first of December, 355, and in less than a month came to Vienne in Gaul. In his wars with the Franks and Germans, who had made incursions into that part of the country, he was very successful; and gained great honor. not only in that section, but throughout the empire. He was exceedingly popular with the soldiers; by whom, in the spring of 360, he was declared Augustus, and compelled, against his will, to assume the title, and take upon himself the government, as Emperor of the West.

Julian wrote to Constantius, who was then in the East, informing him of what the army had done, and requesting that he might assume the title of Augustus, promising all the submission that he could desire. But Constantius would not listen to him. He sent back a letter, commanding him to renounce the title of Augustus, and be content with that of Cæsar. This letter Julian read to the army, and offered to submit to the Emperor's proposal if the soldiers would consent. But they replied with loud acclamations, proclaiming him Augustus and Emperor of the West. Of this, also, Julian sent a full account

to Constantius ; and several letters passed between them, but on compromise could be effected.

Julian, therefore, commenced his march to Vienne, where he arrived near the end of the year 360. Here he buried his wife, Helena, who had borne him a son, which the Empress Eusebia had bribed the mid-wife to destroy as soon as it was born. From Vienne Julian marched into Illyricum to meet Constantius ; but the two emperors, with their armies, did not come together. Constantius died of a fever, in Cilicia, in November, 361. Like his father, he received baptism while on the bed of death. In the month following, Julian made his entrance into Constantinople, where, by the general acclamations of the senate and people, he was proclaimed sole Emperor of Rome.

Up to this time, Julian had concealed pretty effectually his opposition to Christianity, and his attachment to the ancient idolatry. He publicly observed the Christian ordinances, while secretly sacrificing to Jupiter and Apollo. He kept the feast of Epiphany in the church at Vienne as late as January, 361, and praised the Emperor in the most extravagant terms ; though he thoroughly hated him, and after his death as bitterly mocked him. For ten years he had kept on the mask. But no sooner was he proclaimed Emperor at Constantinople, than he revealed his purpose to change entirely the religion of Rome. He began by making a thorough revolution in his court. He dismissed, at once, the host of barbers, cupbearers, cooks, masters of ceremonies, and other superfluous officers and waiters with which the palace swarmed ; but surrounded himself instead with pagan mystics, sophists, jugglers, theurgists, soothsayers, and scoffers, who poured in upon him from all parts of the Empire.

In striking contrast with his predecessors, he maintained the simplicity of a philosopher, — almost of an ascetic, — in his manner of life. He lived chiefly on a vegetable diet, abstaining now from this kind of food, and now from that, according to the taste of the god or goddess to whom the day was consecrated.

He wore common clothing, slept on the floor, let his hair and beard grow, and, like the anchorites of Egypt, neglected the common rules of cleanliness and decency. He boasts, in one of his works,\* of his long nails, his ink-stained hands, and his uncombed beard, which, he says, — *horribile dictu*, — was full of vermin.

The paganism which Julian sought to introduce was not precisely that of old Greece and Rome, but rather an improved form or edition of it, as modified by the Neo-Platonics. It was a strange mixture of philosophy and superstition, with some improvements borrowed from the Christians. Above the multiplicity of national divinities, — genii, heroes, and natural powers, it taught the existence of One Supreme; believed in immediate revelations, through visions, oracles, and the entrails of beasts; and was in close alliance with all magical and theurgic arts. Julian himself was in constant communication with Jupiter, Minerva, Apollo, and other divinities, who paid their nocturnal visits to his heated fancy, and assured him of their protection. He practised divination like a master. The sun was a favorite object of worship to him, which he regarded as the center of the universe, and the source of light, life, and salvation to all creatures. He advocated the use of images, as helps to devotion, and the sanctuaries of the gods.

Julian's plan for the overthrow of Christianity was not like that of Galerius and Diocletian, by bloody persecution, but by a method of treating the Christians which should have all the effect of persecution, without its odium. He deprived the clergy of their incomes which they had received from the former emperors, and no longer exempted them from burthensome civil duties. He even compelled them to perform military duty. He excluded the Christians from all promotion, and in terms of bitter sarcasm forbade their attendance at the public schools. He would not allow them to study the Greek authors or sciences, or to practice the learned professions. He obliged the Christians

\*The Misopogon.



to rebuild the idolatrous temples and altars which had been thrown down, and so connected idolatry with all solemn transactions, and with the manifestations of respect to himself, as to make a participation in it almost unavoidable. He ridiculed the Christians and their worship, stirred up dissensions among them, encouraged apostasies, and rejoiced over them. Nor can he be freed entirely from the stigma of palpable persecution. He confiscated the estates of the Christians, plundered their temples, banished some of the best of their ministers, and in various ways obstructed their religious services and worship.

It was his hostility to the Christians which led him to flatter and favor the Jews. He promised to aid them in rebuilding their temple at Jerusalem, that so they might offer sacrifices as of old. Under his auspices, the work of building was commenced; but it was soon abandoned. Balls of fire issuing, with a tremendous explosion, from the ground, scattered both the materials and the workmen. The fact of such explosions is well attested, but there is no reason to regard them as miraculous. In removing the deep piles of rubbish from the site of the old temple, phosphoric elements may have been encountered, or inflammable gasses let loose in sufficient quantities to account for all the phenomena.

While Julian was thus annoying and distressing the Christians, he was promoting his favorite heathenism by every method in his power. He re-established the worship of the gods at the public expense; called forth hosts of priests from their concealment; conferred upon them their former privileges and honors; and enjoined the attendance of soldiers and civil officers at the forsaken temples and altars. He neglected none of the gods or goddesses, though he was particularly devoted to the worship of Apollo and the sun. He caused such multitudes of bulls and lambs to be sacrificed, that the continuance of the species became a subject of concern. He removed the *labarum* of Constantine from the coins and standards, and replaced the old pagan symbols.

In the multifarious services and sacrifices of Paganism, Julian led the way by his own example. Every morning and evening, he sacrificed to the rising and setting sun; every night to the moon and stars; and daily to the other divinities. He turned his palace into a temple, erected altars in his garden, slew the victims often with his own hands, and searched the secrets of the future in their reeking entrails.

At the same time, Julian sought to transform and renovate heathenism, by incorporating with it the morals of Christianity. He insisted that the priests should occupy themselves with holy things, should study no immoral or skeptical books, should not visit taverns or theatres, or pursue any dishonorable trades. They must give alms, practice hospitality, live in strict chastity and temperance, and wear none but simple clothing, except when engaged in their official duties. He borrowed from the church a hierarchical system of orders, and a sort of penitential discipline, with excommunication, absolution, and restoration. He established monasteries and nunneries, and hospitals for the sick and for orphans, and endowed them from the public treasury. To arouse his heathen subjects to greater liberality, he made the noteworthy concession, that, while the Jews never begged, and the Christians supplied not only their own poor but others, the heathen did not help even their own brethren in the faith.

But all these attempts to regenerate heathenism by foreign elements, were utterly futile. As one expresses it, "they were like galvanizing a decayed corpse, or grafting scions on a dead trunk, or sowing seed upon a rock, or pouring new wine into old bottles, bursting the bottles and wasting the wine." The heathen themselves felt little interest in the new emperor's performances, and frequently neglected them, or turned them into ridicule. For example, when he undertook to restore the oracle of Apollo, in the famous grove at Antioch, and had made arrangements for a magnificent procession, he found in the temple but one solitary old priest, and he had nought to sacrifice but a goose.

After his inauguration, Julian staid in Constantinople about eight months, giving himself, with the utmost zeal and diligence, to the duties of his high station. His only recreation was a change of labor. He considered his whole time due to his empire, and to the gods. He would, at the same time, hear and write, and dictate to others. He performed, during these few months, an almost incredible amount of labor.

About midsummer, A. D. 362, he went to Antioch in Syria, where he spent the following winter, making preparations for his approaching campaign against the Persians. He had no sympathy with the Antiochans, the most of whom were professed Christians. They slighted and despised his heathen worship, and ridiculed his mean habit, and his long and shaggy beard. In revenge, he wrote his *Misopogon*, or *Beard-hater*, in which he endeavored to turn the ridicule upon themselves.

In the spring of 363, he set forward his army against the Persians. After a dangerous march through Assyria, he came to the Tigris. The banks were steep, were lined with troops, and guarded by elephants. Nevertheless, he launched his transports, and passed over. After an obstinate conflict, he gained a complete victory, and pillaged the enemy's camp. He did not at once lay siege to Etesiphon, the capital of Persia, but marched his army up the Tigris; where, — being misled by a deserter, — he became entangled in the interior of the country and was exposed not only to the ordinary dangers of war, but to the horrors of famine. In this situation he was attacked by the enemy. Julian fought with the utmost bravery; but being mortally wounded with a javelin, he was carried from the field, and died in his tent, after a reign over the whole empire of about twenty months.

Many stories are told respecting his death, but their accuracy has been disputed. Theodoret says that, when he was wounded, he took a handful of his blood and threw it into the air, exclaiming, "O, Galilean, thou hast conquered!" Others say that he was displeased with the god of the Sun, who had sided

with the Persians and against him, and that, holding up a handful of blood to the sun, he hurled it into the air. It is certain that Julian, like other heathen, was sometimes angry with his gods. During this same war, he prepared a grand sacrifice to Mars. Still the omens were not favorable; whereupon he called Jupiter to witness that he would sacrifice to Mars no more.

Of the character of Julian I need not speak at great length. By some it has been most extravagantly praised, and by others as severely condemned. That he had great abilities, and great ambition, to gratify which, — more especially after he came to the throne, — he exerted himself to the utmost of his power, there can be no doubt. In military and executive talent, and personal bravery, he was not inferior to Constantine; but he lacked entirely the clear, sound common sense of his great predecessor, and that practical statesmanship which discerns the wants of the age, and acts according to them. His moral character was, for a heathen, remarkably pure; which may be accounted for by his early training as a Christian. He was temperate in eating and drinking, averse to outward pomp and show, and though exposed to many temptations, especially at the heathen festivals, he was, so far as we know, inviolably chaste. He pitied the poor, the suffering, the destitute, and did much for their relief. He made great efforts, indeed, not only to conform his own character, but to bring up that of the heathen around him to something like the Christian standard.

Still he had great faults, as is acknowledged by his best friends. For ten years of his life he was a most consummate dissembler and hypocrite. He was superstitious rather than religious, fond of praise and vulgar popularity, and unscrupulous in his methods of attaining this latter object. With all his philosophical wisdom, he was miserably lacking in common sense, — an attribute of indispensable importance to a ruler. His great error, however, was the false position which he was led to take in regard to the paramount question of his time, — I

mean *religion*. He thought himself called and destined in Providence to overthrow the Christian religion, and restore the worship of the heathen gods. It was this which made his life a failure, and his reign as trackless for good as a meteor.

Of the literary works of Julian, we have no particular account. The most singular of them are "The Satire of the Cæsars," and his "Misopogon," of which I have already spoken. He wrote also an "Eulogium of the Philosophers." But his most remarkable work is his attack upon Christianity, which he composed hastily, during his winter's residence at Antioch, amidst the hurry of his preparation for the Persian war. Some say that it consisted of only three books; others make it to consist of seven. It is entirely lost, except so much as may be gathered from the reply to it by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. The Marquis de Argens undertook to recover the work, by bringing together the fragments which Cyril has preserved; but the recovery is very incomplete. We shall present several extracts, — enough to give a general idea of the work, without stopping, in every case, to reply to the writer's objections.

Julian introduces his work against the Christians as follows: "I think it right for me to show to all men the reasons by which I have been convinced that the religion of the Galileans is a human contrivance, badly put together, having in it nothing divine; but by abusing the childish, irrational part of the soul, which delights in fable, they have introduced a heap of wonderful works to give it the appearance of truth."

Julian says that "Moses represents God, as the God of Israel only, and that Jesus, that Nazarene, says the same, and Paul also, who exceeded all the jugglers and impostors that every were, sometimes says the same. But upon other occasions, like a polypus upon the rocks, Paul changes his notions of God; at one time affirming that the Jews only are God's inheritance, and then saying, to please the Greeks, Is he the God of the Jews only, and not of the Gentiles also?"

Julian objects to the Mosiac account of the creation, the fall

of man, and the confusion of languages. He finds fault with the decalogue of Moses, which, he says, "contains no precepts that are not equally regarded by all nations, excepting these two: thou shalt worship no other gods, and remember the Sabbath day." He prefers Lycurgus and Solon to Moses. He reflects upon Sampson and David as not remarkable for valor, and exceeded by many Greeks and Egyptians. "The wise Solomon is not to be compared with many among the Greeks, besides, he was overcome by women, and therefore does not deserve to be reckoned a philosopher."

Julian objects, that Moses never promised a Divine Messiah, but says: "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from among thy brethren *like unto me*, — and not a God."

Julian borrows several of his objections from Porphyry; particularly that concerning the genealogies; that concerning the difference between Paul and Peter at Antioch; and that concerning Matthew's readiness to leave all and follow Christ.

Julian objects to Matthew's applying to Christ the declaration of the prophet Hosea: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." This, he affirms, "was said of Israel; and the evangelist perverts it, with the design to impose upon ignorant Gentiles."

Julian further objects that Jesus, "who rebuked the winds, and walked on the sea, and cast out demons, and (as you will have it) made the heavens and the earth, would not so order his designs as to save his near relations; for it is said that his brethren did not believe on him. But, having persuaded a few among you, and these the worst of men, he has been celebrated about three hundred years; having done nothing in his lifetime worthy of remembrance, unless it were to heal a few lame and blind people, and exorcise demons in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany." Julian here acknowledges the true date of the evangelical history, — about three hundred years previous to his time. He also acknowledges the fact of our Saviour's miracles.

Julian complains, not unjustly, of the Christians of his time, that they did not adhere to the things delivered to them by the Apostles, but altered them for the worse, and carried them on to greater impiety. He instances, first, the extravagant assertions which were then made as to the efficacy of baptism. "Baptism," says he, "which cannot heal the leprosy, the gout, the dysentery, nor any other disease of the body, takes away adulteries, extortions, and all other sins of the soul."

In his "Satire of the Cæsars," Julian refers to this subject again. He introduces Constantius as saying: "Whosoever is a murderer, or a ravisher, or guilty of sacrilege, or any other abomination, let him come to the font boldly; for when we have washed him with water, we will immediately present him innocent and clean." And if he commit the same crimes again, when he has thumped his breast, and beat his head, he shall be clean as before." That the churches of the fourth century ascribed an unwarrantable efficacy to baptism, and thereby provoked the reproaches of Julian, cannot be denied. There is no apology, however, for his irreverent and indecent language.

He reproaches the Christians, also, for having departed from the teachings of Jesus, in reverencing the tombs of the martyrs. "Their sepulchres," he says, "may be beautiful without, but within, they are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness." He blames them, too, for their monastic habits; forgetting that monkery had its origin in heathenism, and that he was little better than a monk himself. "Man," says he, "is a social animal; but you have the cities, and retire into deserts, and some load themselves with chains and shackles."

Julian justly complains of the Christians of his day for calling Mary "the mother of God;" and also for worshipping the wood of the cross. But he unjustly charges them with having departed from the doctrine of Christ, and of the older evangelists, in regard to the divinity of his person. "Neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, have dared to call Jesus



God. But honest John, understanding that great multitudes in Greece and Italy were seized with this distemper," — in other words, were becoming Christians, — "first presumed to advance that doctrine." Julian here acknowledges that John taught the proper divinity of Christ, and that the believers of it had swelled to a great multitude at the time when John's gospel was written.

Julian blames Christians for their persecutions of the heathen, and of one another. "You have killed, not only our people who persisted in the ancient religion, but likewise heretics, equally deceived with yourselves, but who did not mourn the dead man (Christ) in precisely the same manner. But these are your own inventions; for Jesus has no where directed you to do such things, nor yet Paul." It did not occur to Julian that, for three hundred years, the heathen had been the most merciless persecutors of the Christians.

Julian censures the Christians because they do not keep the law of Moses. "Why are ye not circumcised? And why do ye not offer sacrifices? For Christ has said: I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it. And whosoever shall break one of the least of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven."

I might quote more largely from Julian's bitter assault upon Christianity; but it is not necessary. Every where, so far as we have the means of judging, his book bears the marks of taste. It is less carefully studied than the works of his predecessors in the same line, and is more strongly tinged with ribaldry and hate, — the hate of an apostate. He calls the religion of the Galilean "an impious invention, — a conglomeration of the worst elements of Judaism and heathenism, without the good of either." From beginning to end, the Bible is full of contradictions and absurdities. "Eve was given to Adam for a helper; yet she led him astray. A terrible curse was pronounced upon the serpent; though he led men to the knowledge of good and evil, and thus proved himself a blessing." Julian has no pa-



tience with the Apostle Paul, calling him an "arch-traitor, and an inconsistent babbler. Now he makes God to be the God of the Jews, and now the God of the Gentiles, and now both at once; perpetually contradicting both the Old Testament and the New, and also himself."

But enough of this. With all his hate, Julian has performed, unwittingly, an important service for the church. He has borne a valuable testimony to the authenticity of the several books of the New Testament. He allows that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, and that his religion began to be propagated in the times of Tiberius and Claudius. He admits the miracles of Jesus, such as healing the blind and the lame, casting out demons, stilling the winds, and walking on the sea. He endeavors to lessen the number of the early believers, and yet acknowledges that there were multitudes of them in Greece and Italy, before the Apostle John wrote his gospel. He testifies, too, in many points, to the faith of the early Christians, showing it to have been what is commonly supposed. Instead of overthrowing the Christian religion, he has unwittingly confirmed it, and may be safely appealed to in confronting its enemies at the present day.

Julian justly excepts to some things which had obtained currency among the Christians of his own time, but has not urged one objection of any moment against Christianity, as it came from the hands of our Saviour and his Apostles. His arguments and his ridicule are alike harmless. They subverted the faith of few, if any, in his own time, and are insufficient, at this day, to unsettle the weakest Christian.

Julian died in the right time. Had he returned victorious from the Persian war, and reigned as long as some of his predecessors, there is no telling what additional stains he might have brought upon his own character, and what injuries he might have inflicted upon the Church of Christ. But with his death, all open opposition to the faith of the gospel ceased. There were no more infidel opposers to urge their strength against it.

Other controversies, long and bitter, disturbed the quiet of the church, but the great question respecting the authenticity and divine authority of the fundamental documents of our faith was permitted to slumber. It rested through all the middle ages. It was scarcely moved for the next thousand years.

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## ARTICLE V.

### PREACHING THE DOCTRINE OF ELECTION.

IT is unnecessary to discuss the general question of preaching doctrine. In some form, direct or implied, every preacher puts forth doctrine: either that which is "according to God," or that which is "after man." In pulpits heterodox or orthodox, the man who flings at theology, doctrines and dogmas, simply announces the fact that he preaches the "dogmas of humanitarianism." "He who preaches no doctrine," says Mr. Finney, "preaches no gospel."

Nor is it necessary at present to discuss the question, how should doctrinal preaching be conducted. No doubt, much is to be learned here. A sermon never should be an essay or a lecture. Preaching is more than theorizing. All truth from the pulpit should be given in forms as concrete and practical as possible. And as every duty springs from some principle, so every principle should culminate in some duty. The best preaching is that which gives vivacity and pungency to depth and strength. That is pulpit power. And one great problem yet to be solved for the present age is how best to press the prevalent modes of thought and speech into the service of the true gospel of Christ. Both the method and the style of Edwards, like those of Chrysostom, have passed away; and for

each generation the same old truth must be cast, more or less, in a different mould.

Assuming, then, that doctrine is to be preached, but in modes best adapted to the age, I proceed to consider more particularly the doctrine of election. Should it be preached? What is its proper presentation? And what are its uses?

I. Ought the doctrine of election to be presented from the pulpit? The following reasons would seem to justify an affirmative reply.

1. Because it is truth, and most important truth. As a stupendous fact in the history and movements of this universe, it deserves to be made known, to stand out distinctly. It is one of the grand aspects of God and his reign. It concerns his majesty and his glory, and the methods and issue of his government. It is essential to a complete and suitable view of him and of our relations to him. And though not to be spoken all the time, nor at all times, no right and intelligent dealing with the themes of God's kingdom can omit this doctrine. As a great truth it will assuredly bear its own weight. As a settled fact, it is vain to attempt its suppression. We may as well meet it squarely and manfully, and our hearers must do the same.

2. Because it is very distinctly put forth in the Bible. God himself takes the responsibility of its utterance to men. The truth that he was not afraid to lay permanently before the human race, I know not why the preacher should be afraid to lay occasionally before his congregation. Why should we attempt to be wiser than God, or keep that back, which he sees fit to declare openly?

3. Because it is one of the great topics which must, sooner or later, meet every thoughtful as well as every religious mind. We cannot hide it if we would. It is embedded deep in the whole history of religion. It is one of the great mountain-chains, — volcanic, if you choose to call it so, — which runs through the whole continent of religious thought, and marks off its great boundary lines. The preacher

who never deals with it, is therefore no true and thorough guide. He who makes light of it, has hardly looked beneath the surface of his profession. And he who deems it but a transient form of thinking, can know little of the inner history of religion for eighteen hundred years. Its historic relations alone would justify its presentation.

4. Because the clear utterance of the doctrine has been thoroughly vindicated by the deliberate judgment and practical experience of many of the most faithful and successful ministers. If we go back but two hundred years, the name of Richard Baxter is preëminent for fidelity and for success in the pastoral work. He says he "could not keep the number of his jewels." And, perhaps, no uninspired man's writings have led more persons to Christ. But in his ministry he laid the foundation for his preaching by the constant private teaching of the Westminster Catechism, with its strong statement of decrees, election and effectual calling. He and his assistant spent two days in every week at this work; and the burden of his preaching, as stated by himself, was the creed, the commandments, and the Lord's prayer, — "the things to be believed, the things to be done, and the things to be desired." And not only do his writings generally insist on election and the need of efficacious grace for salvation, but the doctrine is strongly asserted in those great practical works of his, the *Call*, the *Saint's Rest*, and *Treatise of Conversion*. When he even deals with the objection ("Conversion," Works, vii. 312), he will not do it by withdrawing, but by reiterating the doctrine: "God electeth no man to the end without the means, but to the end and means together. All that he electeth to salvation, he electeth to conversion and sanctification; and all that he denieth conversion to, he denieth salvation to also." Again, in his *Call* (Works vii. 434), "God hath two degrees of mercy to show, the mercy of conversion first, and the mercy of salvation last. The latter he will give to none but those that will ask him, and hath promised it to them only. The former is to make them willing that

are unwilling." In his *Saint's Rest* (xxii 174), he openly ascribes the salvation of believers wholly to the discriminating and electing grace of God. "God hath given all things to his Son, but not as he has given his chosen to him. Christ hath procured salvation for all, if they will believe; but he hath procured ~~for~~ his chosen even this condition of believing. He may send his spirit to persuade others, but he intends absolutely his prevailing only with his chosen." Such doctrines did not prevent his being the most successful pastor and writer of his age to win souls to Christ.

Descend a hundred years, and we reach Whitefield, the most remarkable revival preacher of modern times. But Whitefield was a strong Calvinist. He long remonstrated with his friend Wesley, and finally broke with him, for his open opposition to the doctrines of "predestination and the saints' perseverance." He wrote to him from America, in 1741, "Perhaps the doctrine of election has been abused, (and what doctrine has not?) but after all, it is children's bread, and ought not to be withheld from them, supposing it is always mentioned with proper cautions against its abuse." (*Life* by Gillis, p. 79.) And though at first he does not appear to have set forth the doctrine in his public discourses (p. 77), he afterwards writes to Charles Wesley (p. 86), "I must preach the gospel of Christ, and that I cannot do without speaking of election." When he visited Scotland, in 1741, it is recorded that "some who affected to be more modest and polite, were mightily disaffected with him for preaching the Calvinistic doctrines of election, original sin, justification through faith, and perseverance of the saints; and for inveighing against the play-house, dancing assemblies, and games of chance (p. 102). He writes again in August, 1742, "You know how strongly I assert the doctrines of grace, as held forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and doctrinal articles of the Church of England." Surely the convictions, the practice and the unparalleled success of such a man are to the purpose.

Meanwhile, at this same time, took place the Great Awakening in America, perhaps the most extraordinary and thorough work the country has ever experienced. It was conducted, as we know, under such preaching as that of Edwards, the Tennents, Wheelock, Bellamy, Buell, President Davies, and others of similar views and practice. Whitefield here also adds his clear testimony. He writes to Wesley: "I dread your coming to America; because the work of God is carried on here, and that in a most glorious manner, by doctrines quite opposite to those you hold." (*Life*, p. 77.) The preaching of those times, and its power, are well exhibited in the sermons of President Davies, who included among his "favorite themes the sovereignty and free grace of Jehovah, and the utter depravity and impotence of man," and who gathered, in three years, three hundred communicants into his church at Hanover, Va. The views of Edwards, the Tennents, and Wheelock, require no explanation. A contemporary document or "Testimony," published in 1745, by Prince, and twenty-three other ministers about Boston, distinctly sets forth the doctrines, the "more than ordinary preaching of which" was "the principal means of the late revival." They specify in detail, all the chief doctrines of the "Catechism and Confession of Faith," including "the sovereignty of God," "our impotence and aversion to return to him," and the "necessity of regeneration by the supernatural operation of the divine Spirit, subduing and changing our hearts and infusing his saving graces,"—and the like.

A remarkable connecting-link of that age with this country was Rev. Samuel Buell, the intimate friend of David Brainerd. He was an active and successful itinerant preacher in the Great Awakening, and afterwards, till 1798, the pastor of East Hampton. In one revival at East Hampton, under his preaching (1764), almost every person in town was impressed, and ninety-nine converts were received to the church at one communion; and again (in 1785), more than a hundred were brought in within the course of six months. President Davies,

of Hamilton College, was present, and heard his preaching during the revival of 1785, when Buell still showed signs of the fire of his youth; and he tells us that he dwelt with great directness and power on (among other doctrines) "the character and perfections of God, his sovereignty, his eternal purposes, the strictness and purity of his law, the native depravity of the heart and its entire alienation from God, the total helplessness of the sinner left to himself, and the absolute necessity of the special influences of God's almighty Spirit to slay his natural enmity and change the current of his affections." (Sprague's Lectures, p. 378.) Such was Buell's preaching; and President Stiles said of him, that he had done more good than any man then living in America.

Coming down to the beginning of the present century, we find, on both sides of the water, such men as Dr. Dwight, Robert Hall, and Andrew Fuller, simultaneously taking the same ground. Hall, indeed, somewhat cautiously advises not to make the doctrine a prominent point in preaching, but rather to "reserve it for the contemplation of Christians, as matter of humiliation and of awful joy," and while stating it in Scripture terms, yet so to state it "as to obviate the Antinomian interpretation." (Works iii. 230.) Fuller, in the very preface of his "Gospel worthy of all Acceptation," avows that "none ever did or ever will believe in Christ but those who are chosen of God from eternity." Dwight saw fit openly to assert and maintain the doctrine of God's sovereignty and decrees in the chapel of Yale College, in the face of abounding youthful infidelity.

During the present century, among all the pastors of the country, if we were to single out the one who stood preëminent both as pastor, preacher, and leader, for his wisdom, sagacity, clearness, directness, pungency and power, that man would be Lyman Beecher. In his old age, he tells of his method, both in general and particular. When he would crush out infidelity at East Hampton, L. I.: "went through the doctrines;

showed what they didn't mean; what they did; then the argument; knocked away objections, and drove home on the conscience. When that was over infidelity was ended." And later, when he was toiling for a revival, "for some time there was no effect to anything I could do. I could not write any sermons that would take hold. Finally, I resolved that I would preach the doctrine of election. I knew what that doctrine was, and what it would do. So I took for my text Eph. i. 3-6, and went to work. My object was to preach, cut and thrust right and left, hip and thigh, and not ease off. At last, I had found something that took hold. There was not an eye in the church but what glistened like cold stars of a winter's night. The church was started at last. They had not felt so much for a twelvemonth. Sinners, too, were stirred up, and there was winking and sneering. After meeting, you could see them walking about in knots, swinging their arms, and threatening 'they'd never go to that meeting again.' But they did go; and the next time I gave them another, and then another, and another, — eight sermons in succession, — till I had looked at the subject pretty much on all sides of it. I remember, along towards the close of the series, I happened into Dr. Huntington's office, and, as I came in, with a most lugubrious air he said: 'Well, Beecher, are you not most done?' He had rather a tough time of it; but they all took it kindly, notwithstanding, and the result was a revival. O, what a time that was! There were a hundred converts nearly, most of whom stood fast."

It was about this time, or a little earlier, that the series of revivals took place throughout Connecticut, and other parts of New England: a series so extraordinary, that Dr. Griffin said he could stand in his study-door (at New Hartford) and count sixty churches in one field which had been thus blest. In many a country church, as in Lee, Mass., New Hartford, Conn., Elizabeth, N. J., converts came in by the hundred. The character of the preaching, under which this work took place, can be inferred by remembering that prominent among the preachers



of those parishes were such men as Ebenezer Porter, Smalley, Griffin, Strong, Hyde, Azel Backus. And if any would know with what food they fed their hearers, let him read Griffin's Park Street Lectures. This was the state of things from which sprang Samuel J. Mills, Gordon Hall, Adoniran Judson, Luther Rice, and Levi Parsons.

During the quarter of a century, from 1811 onward, probably no revival preacher has labored with such power, with such abundant and permanent good fruits, and with such unqualified approval of all wise ministers in New England, as Asahel Nettleton. A great number of churches, — perhaps two hundred or more, — in various parts of the country, were blest with revivals in connection with his labors. Dr. Beecher said of him, in 1827: "Considering the extent of his influence, I regard him as, beyond comparison, the greatest benefactor God has given to this nation." Dr. Porter commends him, as "the minister of Christ, whose experience and success have been greater than those of any other man in modern times." But Nettleton was a Calvinist of the school of Edwards, Belamy, and Dwight, believing and fearlessly defending the doctrine of decrees and particular election to eternal life. He has left elaborate sermons on the doctrine, in one of which his proposition is, that the doctrine of election furnishes the only ground of encouragement to the use of means. He preached these sermons, not indiscriminately, — for he never so did anything, — but wisely, and in his revival labors. He said to Dr. Porter: "In the first stage of a revival, while depravity is yet ascendant, I would preach the law, with its awful sanctions and solemn claims on sinners to be holy, and that immediately. But, when the first moments of a revival are past, and sinners are settling down on presumptuous confidences, I would preach election. Conscience is thus roused enough to make a cord which sinners cannot break. Their own convictions are on my side, so that they cannot escape; and I would then hold them fast and repeat my strokes under the fire and the hammer of

divine truth." (Life of Nettleton, by Dr. Tyler, p. 222.) The experience of a man so singularly wise to win souls is worthy of careful consideration. Were it needful, it were easy to confirm his views by the testimony of the noblest men of the country: Wayland, who enumerates among "the doctrines most successfully exhibited in the promotion of revivals," "the sovereignty of God in the salvation of sinners, the clear exhibition of the truth that he is under no manner of obligation to save them, and the necessity of the Spirit of God to the conversion of any individual of the human race;" of Dr. Sprague, who says, if the sinner excuses himself on the doctrine of election, "take care that, in reply to this, you say nothing to bring the doctrine into question; instead of seeming to doubt it, or to treat it as if it were a mere speculation, admit it, prove it, and show that, if it be not true, God has not spoken plainly in his word;" of Dr. Humphrey, who fully vindicates the truths preached by Nettleton, as "the power of God unto salvation to multitudes ready to perish, as the same means that were employed by Edwards, and Bellamy, and Brainerd, and the same that had generally been adopted by the most successful preachers of New England during the first thirty years of this century,"—up to the time when he wrote; and many other such men. Let us add only the testimony of two diverse theologians, Dr. Woods and Dr. Taylor. Says the former: "Believe the doctrine firmly, and declare it fully and plainly." (Works, i. 538.) Says the latter: "It may be shown to be a doctrine of the most salutary practical tendency, directly fitted to augment the power of other truths, adapted to sanctify, to strengthen, to comfort and perfect the saints, and to arouse the sinner to instant, direct and decisive effort in the work of his salvation." (Rev. Theology, p. 372.)

But the doctrine is not to be preached indiscriminately nor disproportionately; neither all the time, nor at all times. It is part of a system of truth, and has its special adaptations and its fitting times. There may be foundation for Mr. Finney's

remarks on the difference between the effect produced with the doctrine by Edwards and Whitefield, and that produced by their successors. The former, he says, preached it very fully, though not exclusively, to audiences that had long heard nothing but Arminianism, and were resting in themselves and their own strength. The doctrine came home with prodigious power. "The consequence was that, because in these circumstances revivals followed from such preaching, the ministers who followed continued to preach these doctrines almost exclusively," till "the church and the world got entrenched behind them, waiting for God to do what he required them to do, and so revivals ceased for many years." There may be justice in his criticism on the minister who, having experienced a great revival on preaching this and kindred doctrines to a congregation that had never heard them, when he removed to a parish that had heard scarcely anything else, till they had become Antinomian and almost fatalist, still kept on preaching this one line of doctrine, and wondering that no revival came. That congregation needed to be stirred up to duty, obligation, responsibility. But Mr. Finney well remarks (*Revival Lectures*, p. 195) that "a right view of both classes of truths, election, and free agency, will do no hurt. They are eminently calculated to convert sinners and strengthen saints."

The doctrine, then, should be preached. The man who, in the face of such testimonies, denies the propriety of it, must have a profound persuasion of his own individual wisdom. Such a theme can never lose its interest to the human soul till the human soul loses the power of deep thought. It can never be treated flippantly, except by minds of a very different class and calibre from those of Taylor, Beecher, Humphrey, Nettleton, Porter, Griffin, Dwight, Hall, Baxter, Howe, Edwards, Whitefield, — to say nothing of Calvin or Augustine. It is a subject to be met fairly, frankly, thoughtfully, earnestly. The doctrine, says Coleridge, "is one of the stumbling-blocks in the ordinary conception of the Christian faith, to which the infidel

points in scorn, and which far better men pass by in silent perplexity; yet surely from mistaken notions." And, though some seem to think the present wonderful age has outgrown all such discussions, it is difficult to see how the railroad, or the telegraph, or any of the things they represent and symbolize, has changed the relation of man to his God, or the grand facts of God's character and government, with their eternal interest for the human soul.

II. How should the doctrine be presented? Some have answered, "in Scripture terms." This is well, as far as it goes. Such a statement carries authority, and settles the fact. But to confine himself to Scripture terms is in accordance neither with the preacher's constant practice, his proper function, nor the wants of his hearers. His function and practice are to elucidate and enforce Scripture. On all other topics he does so. Why not here? For the actual necessities and difficulties of his hearers are not met by any such "masterly inactivity."

Shall the preacher allude to it only in a summary way? He does not so deal with other Scripture doctrines; nor again does he thus do justice to the theme, or to his congregation. The passing allusion, unless resting on further discussion, must fail to make the true and full impression. At some times it is proper for him to deal manfully with the whole subject, gathering up the whole scattered light of the Scriptures. As a bold statement of the doctrine, one might accept either Dr. Taylor's form: "That God has eternally purposed to renew, and sanctify, and save a part only of mankind; or that of Dr. Woods, which scarcely differs from it: "That God did eternally and unchangeably purpose to save a portion of our race in distinction from others," or, more distinctly, "to bestow upon some renewing of the Holy Ghost and final salvation in heaven." This is a true and Scriptural statement; But a suitable presentation of the *subject* must, at some time, set forth the doctrine, not only specifically and exactly, but in its relations and surroundings, with its limitations and distinctions, and in its prac-

tical bearings. The following series of propositions, however defective and exceptionable, may serve as suggestive of a true view of the theme in its proper setting. It will be observed that the first four propositions are rather the logical basis and antecedents of the doctrine of election, and the last four, its limitations and concomitants.

1. It is eminently desirable and right that such a being as God is, should govern the universe on some settled plan. For we are shut up to the alternatives of a universe drifting by chance, driven by fate, or skilfully guided by the wise and holy God.

2. It is certain that such a being as the God of the Scriptures must have such a plan. While standing at the head of the universe, with infinite resources and perfect freedom, he is also perfectly wise and good. But no wise being could, no good being would, suffer these vast affairs to toss at random. He must have a plan, and an end—a good end—in view. Reverently speaking, it is God's duty so to proceed. His foreknowledge and freedom also shut us up to his purposes. For whatever he freely does, foreknowing the issue, that issue he, in some important sense, designs.

3. That plan must, in some way, include all beings and events. This is alike the declaration of Scripture and the necessity of reason. A perfect plan must be complete. A plan for the whole must include all the parts. Or, if perfect wisdom is that which secures the best ends by the best means, "means and ends include all." Or, if he eternally foreknew all, and *freely* admitted and permitted all, he, in some true and important sense, planned all.

4. God's plan includes both the sin and holiness of rational beings; but in a very different way: (*a*) holiness, as directly desired of itself, the great end of his moral system: sin, as hateful and hated of itself, simply as incidental to the best system, and only not forcibly prevented: (*b*) holiness, as com-

manded, encouraged, and fostered by him: ~~sin, as forbidden, encouraged and fostered by him;~~<sup>4</sup> sin, as forbidden, discouraged, and, to a great degree, restrained by him: (c) holiness, as originated by his own direct aim and influence: sin, as not his doing, but originated by other wills than his.

Here, if we accept the statement that "God cannot be tempted of evil, neither tempteth he any man," and other coincident statements, we must strongly affirm *the total difference* between God's *purposed* relation to holiness and to sin. Unless we would run into Pantheism, we must recognize clearly three things; first, the difference between even God's wish and his will, or choice,—he may earnestly desire some things that he does not, on the whole, choose to accomplish; second, the fact that there are other real wills besides God's will in this universe, dependant and restrained, yet actual originating forces; third, the fact that God creates the sinner, but the sinner himself positively creates the sin (so Baxter and Howe); and that God's plan contemplates the sin, not as his own, but as the sinner's doing. We may even accept the old distinction, insisted on by John Robinson (I. 293), between "the action or fact, and the sin of the fact or crime,"—a distinction plainly brought to view (Acts ii. 23) in regard to the betrayal and crucifixion of Christ.

5. Under this broader plan, God has eternally purposed to renew, sanctify, and save a part only of mankind. This is the strict doctrine of election.

Here the purpose (a) was eternal; (b) respected certain individuals; (c) was not founded on mere foresight of their doings, but on God's designs concerning them; (d) included their renewal and sanctification, as well as their salvation; (e) comprehended all the influences needful to the result; (f) comprised the determination that they shall be saved only in the use of means and the exercise of free will. Under this head, it is not necessary to discard the view of a positive and direct efficiency exerted on the will itself, restoring its lost equilibrium, removing its actual servitude, and *inclining* it unto God.

6. As part of the same broad plan, God has eternally purposed to leave another portion of mankind freely to reject him and be lost. This is the doctrine of reprobation.

Here again, the purpose (*a*) was eternal; (*b*) related to individuals; (*c*) respects God's procedures, namely, of permission and pretermission; (*d*) concerns man's free actions; (*e*) leaves unimpaired both their essential freedom and their actual bondage. Under this head, we are openly to admit and maintain the fact of free, though dependant wills, so free, that nothing can be conceived of as lacking to that essential freedom, and yet actually and voluntarily so enslaved to sin, that effectual deliverance never will come except from God; and that deliverance he does not purpose to effect. And these facts any man may disprove who can; for

7. God's purposes are only the precursors of his actual doings. If his deed is right, so is his purpose. One is but the thing in execution, the other in intention. The impeachment of the purpose must be the impeachment of the commonest events in God's government. For, in the words of Coleridge, "the doctrine of election is a necessary inference from an undeniable fact,—necessary at least for all who hold that the best of men are what they are through the grace of God." Hence, all objections to the plan are cut off by the facts of the execution. The real difficulties lie in the actual dispensations of Providence and Grace.

8. God's purposes of election leave the duty of human activity unimpaired. They leave the same urgency to action as in common life,—in sowing and reaping, and all effort toward an end. The man who physically does nothing, and starves because of God's decrees, is no greater fool than he who quietly floats down to hell because of the decrees. So the Scripture puts it; so all right preaching. Even Griffin boldly says: "God will receive you if you go, the decree of election, notwithstanding." Obligation and duty are ultimate and imperishable.



9. God's purpose of election does not dispense with the use of means, but forever binds together means and ends. So in general,—“except these abide in the ship they cannot be saved.” So in particular,—“give diligence to make your calling and election sure.”

10. God's purpose of election is perfectly consistent with the invitations, and the offer of free salvation to all. God is in earnest,—O that thou hadst hearkened.” He “hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked.” But even God's desire and his determination are two different things. He is governed and, reverently speaking, limited, by reasons. He earnestly desires and invites the repentance which yet he will not compel.

11. God's electing purpose can be known only by its results, and is not man's rule of duty at all. The *command* is ours, “Strive to enter in.” “Give all diligence.” When we exercise faith and obedience here on earth, then, and then only, may we know that we are elected by God in heaven.

12. God's purpose of election affords the only ground of hope to man. This seems to be Christ's declaration: “All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me, . . . no man can come unto me except the Father which hath sent me, draw him.” Accordingly, Tyler, and Taylor, Hopkins, Griffin, Woods, Nettleton, and Finney, have not hesitated to press the doctrine home in this mode upon the soul. The sinner is so desperately, yet voluntarily, wickedly and inexcusably opposed to Christ, that the only hope of his salvation lies in God's purpose, and act of interposition. Let him see it, and let him feel it as his damning guilt.

III. What then are the legitimate uses of the doctrine so presented?

1. It is to the Christian, in Lyman Beecher's words, “precious and glorious.” It produces (1) the profoundest gratitude and joy, mingled with awe. “Why was I made to hear thy voice?” No other truth is so freighted with deep emotion. Hall calls it, “awful joy.” (2.) The deepest humility and sense of dependence. God is all, and we are nothing. Al



our hope, and all the sinner's hope is from him. It is the testimony of all revival experience that never is a church so ripe for a blessing as when in this state of profound humility and entire dependence on God. (3.) The assurance of perfect safety. The child of God is wholly secure in God's plans and hands. (4.) The highest comfort in trouble. It is the planning and doing of his Father. "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, because thou didst it." (5.) Rest and peace under perplexity, difficulty, and disappointment. All is moving wisely and rightly. For God orders it. (6.) The highest encouragement to labor. The work cannot fail. It is planned, guided, and guaranteed by God.

2. To the sinner the doctrine, when wisely, and pungently pressed, may be made a powerful application for good. (1.) It startles him from his lethargy. He slumbered on, thinking his destiny all in his own hands, and he could awake and attend to it at any time. It appals him when the truth glares in on him that he is wholly dependent on God. Beecher found here something that would "take hold." So Edwards found before him. So many other faithful preachers have found. And the men who think all interest in such themes has passed by, were they thoroughly and wisely to try the experiment, would soon find whether a sermon on election was a pillow or a bomb-shell. (2.) It tests his character, and reveals to him his enmity to God. For he suddenly finds himself in deadly opposition to God's government, and utterly refusing to be in his hands. Many a sinner has here had the first thorough disclosure of the malignity of his heart. This has been one of the well-known uses of the doctrine in former days. Dr. Beecher even openly told the impenitent, he hopes "God will use the doctrine to harrow up the selfish hearts of sinners, and set them fighting against God; and that in the midst of their contentions he will show them their enmity, confound, humble, and convert them." How often has this very thing taken place. Thus, Dr. Woods records (*Works* I. 563) the observation of

a minister of sound judgment and large experience, that a plain, scriptural statement of the doctrine of election at the commencement of a revival of religion had more effect in making known to sinners the evil of their own hearts, and convincing them of sin, than any other truth he had ever preached. (3.) It rouses him to action. When pressed home *in connection with his responsibility, obligation and sin*, instead of an anodyne, it is a stimulant, a very blister to his conscience, and his will. So Nettleton found it. He says it made all the difference between a man sitting at his ease in a room of a house with the roof on fire, when he supposes the door is unlocked, or he has the key,—and the same man told that the door is locked, and he has *not* the key. It rouses him to be in earnest, and to struggle. It produces alarm and distress and effort for salvation. Such, too, is the testimony of Dr. Taylor. (4.) It sends the sinner to the only source and hope of salvation—to God alone. He always strives first, and often long, to save himself. He must feel wholly shut up to God's mere mercy before he will surrender. This doctrine is often the most effectual, sometimes the only means to bring him to that point, and make him, in his helplessness, cast himself wholly on God; and then he is saved. Such was Griffin's experience. "This is the grandest of all means to press them out of themselves, to cast them dead and helpless upon God, to make them die that they may live." Such, too, was Andrew Fuller's observation. "This doctrine [of dependence on God], it will be said must drive sinners to despair. Be it so. It is such despair as I wish to see prevail. Until a sinner despair of any help from himself, he will never fall into the arms of sovereign mercy; but if once we can convince him that there is no help in us, and that this, so far from excusing us, is a proof of the greatest wickedness, we shall then begin to pray as lost sinners; and such prayer offered in the name of Jesus will be heard." Many a sinner has found this the turning point in his salvation. (5.) The doctrine, therefore, offers the sinner his only encouragement.

So obstinate is the opposition to God, that if God had left men to themselves not one soul would have been saved. If the doctrine of election be not true, then with such a heart as the sinner has, he is hopelessly lost. For the doctrine of regeneration, of repentance, is still true, and stands full in his path. But God had, and has, purposes of mercy. He earnestly desires the salvation of those who have no such desire for themselves. This is the light shining in a dark place. The sinner cannot, indeed, see whether his name stands written in that sealed book. But he now knows there are designs, determinations, of mercy in God's heart. He sees that those designs so far, at least, include him as to lay urgently and pleadingly before him that glorious offer, "whosoever believeth on me shall not perish." And so in how many an instance has the deep contemplation of that eternal purpose of mercy in Christ Jesus towards those who had no mercy on themselves, flashed light and warmth upon the sinner's heart, melted him to love and submission, and thus proved him to be one of the elect of God.

In conclusion, it should be strongly urged that one grand requisite to a right presentation of the doctrine of election to the sinner, is that we, at the same time, keep before him and press upon him his complete responsibility, his freedom, his duty, and his sin : — his sin culminating in the very fact that God must interpose to save him. Then it is a safe and wholesome doctrine. Hence, the power of New England revival preaching. The mistake has been when this last point has not been pushed home. Then comes despair, indifference, stupidity, and utter inaction. Here lay the vital difference between the use and abuse of the doctrine ; between the New England or, as it was once called, the "New Light" preaching of it, and the older ultra-Calvinistic teaching. The latter virtually said : "Wait God's time." The other said : "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling ; God's time is now." The one said, your sin makes you helpless ; the other adds, that helplessness is your terrible sin. The one said the non-elect is doomed to unbelief

and destruction ; the other says he is doomed to destruction because he, the sinner, so freely and desperately clings to his unbelief. And while the sinner objects, " There is no hope unless I am elected," — the true preacher replies, " The more sin and shame to you for it ; yet, *because* of electing grace there *is* hope, and if you make the very interposition of God's love an excuse for your refusal to be saved, you simply make your damnation sure."

## THE BOOK TABLE.

1. — *The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography, including sketches of the Topography, Climate, Geology, and Mineral Resources; and the progress of development in Population and Material Wealth.* By J. W. FOSTER, LL.D., President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, etc., etc. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 443.

The book-trade of Chicago is not the least of its marvels. Three mammoth marble establishments flourish side by side on State Street, the business of any one of which, in the older cities, would be something quite amazing. The business of one of them is over a half a million per annum, and that of another over a million. One of the younger publishing houses began, nine years ago, with a cash capital of fifteen dollars, and, last year, returned a taxable income nearly equal to the salary of President Grant. The mass of books disposed of is on the scale of the great grain depots of the city, while the cost and value of many of them indicate a great deal of taste or, — extravagance. Illustrated volumes of princely elegance sell at the counters of the Messrs. Griggs, Keen & Cooke, and the Western News Company, as they do at Appleton's, and Scribner's, and Welford's. Seldom has so splendid a collection of books for sale been burnt up, as that which the first of these houses lost in the great conflagration a year or two since. Their editions of the "Army Reunion" volume, and of Prof. Boise's "Homer," are, for elegance and accuracy, beyond all praise. "The National Sunday School Teacher," published by Messrs. Adams, Blackner & Lyon, has a circulation of 30,000; and of its "Lesson Paper," for uniform lessons, 275,000 copies are printed per month, while two other Sabbath School journals, from the same house, less than a year old, have monthly circulations respectively of 15,000 and 10,000.

This noble volume, — in beauty of print and paper comparable with anything issued at the East for the general public, — fitly

synchronizes with that stage of growth when the West may be said to have reached its majority, puts on the Pacific Railroad as its watch-chain, and thinks it high time to take care of the old folks by moving them out of the miserable tenement at Washington to the comfortable farm on the Mississippi, — and, what is of equal significance, *has* moved the CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW to Chicago. The West has been to school, has been graduated with honor, and now can talk science with the best of them, as this volume proves. It is, indeed, a thought of serious joy that the intellectual progress of the West bids fair to keep pace with its material advancement.

Dr. Foster made a reputation twenty years ago, as joint author with Whitney of a geological report on the Lake Superior region. His ability is undoubted, and his familiarity with everything that pertains to the Mississippi Valley is long and large. This book contains a mass of valuable information, even to the extent of much that is extraneous to the subject. The style is pleasant and pictorial. In fact, the work was intended to be popular in its cast, not "vast and exhaustive," as some newspaper critics say of it. Dr. Foster himself avows that he has "attempted rather to present graphic sketches of the great phenomena of the region under consideration, in a form which should interest and instruct the general reader, and, at the same time, to explain those natural laws, to whose operation these phenomena are due." The "double fear" he felt, in preparing such a volume for the press, — of being too abstruse for the general reader, and not sufficiently exact for the scientific, — might be avoided, in another edition, by copious appendices, in fine print, giving, in brief, the arguments pro and contra on disputed points, and full statistics on other points. We have failed to find, on any page, a word in regard to hygrometrical, — that is, dew-point, — observations in the Mississippi Valley, — a subject quite as important as that of rain, and illustrated by some striking facts in the prairie region.

We commend the book especially to our unstatistical Eastern friends. They will find here that the Mississippi Valley is as large as Europe, excluding Russia and Scandinavia; that the upper part of the Valley, mostly embraced by the great arms of

the Ohio and Missouri rivers, has, in ninety years, gained more than twelve millions of souls, and twelve thousand miles of railroad, and, under due cultivation, is capable of supporting a population of fifty millions. A large part of the profits from this garden of the world still goes to Eastern capitalists, and the rest is instantly absorbed by most urgent private and public improvements. But when the West is finished, what will it not be? What inexpressible need that its enlightenment be made to keep step with its power! May the great Valley be not a valley of the shadow of death, but of the glory of all true life.

2. — *Congregationalism for Christ.* By NEWMAN HALL, LL.B.  
London: Jno. Snow. 1855.

Our earnest and whole-hearted English brother, — apt for every good word and work, — delivered this essay as an address at the Autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. It is full of his catholic and liberal spirit. "Congregationalism, loved and advocated only as it proves itself to be in harmony with the Word of God, and adapted to promote the great interests of religion," — this is his theme. "It would be to him a plain proof that his own system was not Apostolical, if it alienated him from any who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." "A bigoted Congregationalist is a contradiction, for he whose heart is pent up within the pale of his own church, has already denied the fundamental faith of our order, and has forfeited his right to the honourable name we bear." "We never feel it necessary to apologize for coöperation. We have no need to say, on common platforms, that we can worship and work with other Christians, *although* we are Congregationalists. We do so *because* we are Congregationalists. We compromise our principles, not by liberality, but by exclusiveness. Call us not, then, a sect! When we become sectarian we cease to be Congregational. Members of exclusive churches, may excite surprise and win applause when, better than their systems, they associate with other Christians. In doing so, we can never claim credit for personal liberality, but only for our principles, which compel us to large heartedness." That is New England Congre-

gationalism, and Western Congregationalism, as well as English Congregationalism. And we take the highest pleasure in quoting and earnestly endorsing these sentiments in these pages, now that Providence opens "the New England Zone" across the continent to the CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW.

Mr. Hall takes as his definition of a church that 19th Article of the Church of England to which our Puritan fathers, "Separatists" and all, ever so earnestly appealed. He shows that Congregationalists held this more consistently than Anglicans or any who define the church by worldly instead of spiritual boundaries. "It is obvious that the inhabitants of a country, or of a parish, cannot as such constitute a church; a church being a congregation, not of citizens, not of parishioners, but of "believers." He holds high the Word of God, — after the Puritan fashion, — as the *only* authority in religion. "It is not the Bible *and* the Prayer Book, the Bible *and* the Articles; nor is it the Bible *and* the Catechism, either the Assembly's or Dr. Watts'; it is not the Bible and Luther, the Bible and Calvin, the Bible and the opinions of any uninspired men whatsoever; but the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants, the religion of Congregationalists." On the diversity, in unity, catholicity, order, liberty, independence of our churches he is emphatic and fervent, on their antiquity he is explicit. "We repudiate altogether the notion that our origin is to be sought for in the troubled reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Brown was not our founder. The rejected Nonconformists were not the first Congregationalists. The persecuted Puritans did not originate our order. To Calvin and Luther we owe not our birth. We trace beyond the Reformation. We are older than the Waldenses. The ancient Fathers are to us but modern names. We have a higher antiquity than Rome. We are successors of the Apostles; our church government is as old as the New Testament, and our founder is Christ himself."

No one will suspect the beloved and affectionately evangelical author of these words, especially none who heard him in our American churches, or have known him in his own land, as we did, — of *any taint* of sectarianism. His voice is that of the noble body of Christians in that land, who are rising to preëminent



influence and reverence now on the ruins of Church and State,—for though, during our Rebellion he held aloof from the Congregational Union of England and Wales because of its deflection from the cause of American liberty, he has since, in the natural revulsion of sentiment, been made its honored chairman. Not feeling the need of asserting our own “Congregationalism for Christ,” we are ready to endorse vehemently that of Newman Hall. And we suggest that our Congregational Publishing Society, which is beginning under Dr. Barrows’ enterprising and wide-awake management, to lay under contribution the freshest English utterances, like Dale’s “Christ and the Controversies of Christendom,” would do well to reprint this pithy, elastic, nervous essay of Newman Hall.

3. — *An Introduction to the Old Testament.* By JOHANNES BLEEK. Translated from the 2nd edition. By G. H. VENABLES, Esq. London. 1869. Two vols. 8vo. pp. 449 and 485.

This work, which holds a high rank in Germany, is now made accessible to English readers. It is regarded as one of the more candid of the treatises written from the Rationalist stand-point. The author’s tone is generally respectful to the Scriptures. He has a wide acquaintance with the subject, a general truthfulness in the statement of facts and opinions, a perception of the points at issue, and a power of digesting his materials. The book stands in marked contrast, in nearly all these respects, with Dr. Davidson’s Introduction. It is a book which a Christian scholar can use to good advantage, if he will use discreetly. Still its value is greatly limited by the false assumption from which it is written. Within a certain range its candor may be very commendable. Yet, all its reasoning on some of the most important questions is, and must be, biased and vitiated by its *proton pseudos*. The writer who, openly or tacitly, assumes that miracles must be unhistorical and minute prophecy as improbable, if not impossible, is thereby *compelled* to maintain, as does Bleek, that the oldest portion of the Pentateuch (“Elopistre”), was written in the time of Saul, “the Jehovistic revision” in the

reign of David, and "the Deuteronomic revision" in the reign of Manasseh; that the latter part of Isaiah was composed at the return from captivity; and the book of Daniel after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,—and so on. Yet, these are fundamental questions, compared with which all microscopic learning and ability are cheap. Such a book must be uncandid and unfair. Bleek's dealing with the book of Daniel, for example, is captious and unworthy. Arguments without the slightest weight are advanced with an assurance refreshing to behold. But it is still more refreshing to see these arguments, and bold assertions shrink under the blaze of a criticism like that of Dr. Pusey. One great desideratum in Biblical Literature is a new Introduction to the Old Testament, and especially to the Pentateuch, written with German learning, and with a belief in the supernatural. There is danger that the dogged and continued reiteration of rationalist *assumptions* may at length produce the impression that they are *conclusions*.

4. — *Daniel the Prophet*; Nine Lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford. By the REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew. Second edition. Oxford. 1868. pp. 650. 8vo.

The father of Puseyism has here done a masterly work. The volume is his "contribution against the tide of skepticism which the publication of the 'Essays and Reviews' let loose upon the young and uninstructed." And a very noble contribution it is. The spirit of the work is deeply reverential; the style cuts like a razor; the learning is various, profound, and exact; and the argument exhaustive. We hardly know where to find a more effective combination of learning and argument on a subject of this kind. The author demolishes Drs. Davidson and Williams in his Preface, in the body of the work sweeps away an immense amount of critical rubbish accumulated by Dr. Wette, Bertholdt, Lengerke, Hitzig, and the like, and thoroughly vindicates the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel, and its place in the Canon. The Lectures are also, to a considerable extent,

an exposition of its prophecies, while they ably and suggestively discuss a variety of important connected topics in the Old Testament. The laborious completeness of the volume is shown in the appendix which contains an explanation of the Argan words in Daniel, by Max Müller, a full examination of all the words peculiar to Daniel, and those common to him with the Pentateuch, with the middle and later Hebrew and with Ezekiel; also the Argan words subsequently lost, the Aramaic words afterwards lost, the variations of the Septuagint, and the Hebrew and Greek words indicating commerce; and one note in which the author deals with Dean Stanley's alleged modern counterparts to Daniel's political predictions. We regard this volume as one of the most important contributions to the whole discussion of the book of Daniel.

5. — *Essays on Political Economy.* By the late M. FREDERIC BAS-  
TIAT. Member of the Institute of France. Part I. Sophisms  
of Protection, First Series. Part II. Sophisms of Protection,  
Second Series. Part III. Spoliation and Law. Part IV. Cap-  
ital and Interest. Translated from the Paris Edition of 1869.  
Chicago: The Western News Company. pp. 398. 1869.

It needs no prophet's eye to see that among the leading political issues of our country, the question of Free Trade must soon have a place of chief prominence. Everything which can throw light on that question, and especially everything which tends to clear away long-cherished prejudices that have hindered its fair discussion, ought to be welcomed. Without attempting here to pronounce judgment on the main question, we do not hesitate to say that the book before us will help all candid readers to a just apprehension of the nature of the subject, and of the laws fixed in the nature of men and the structure of human society with respect to which it must be considered. The book gives a one-sided presentation of principles, but the presentation is clear and strong, and it challenges, and will compel the champions of the other side to come forward with their best defences made as clear and strong, if that be possible.

The author died in 1850. The book embraces brief, fragmentary articles written with reference to the question as agitated in France twenty years ago. They are in the pithy, French style, full of wit and sarcasm, directed at what he honestly believes to be mischievous fallacies.

This edition is brought out by Mr. Horace White, chief editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. One half the matter is now first given to the American public in an English dress. There is significance in its publication in Chicago, the commercial center of the great Interior, where the whole subject is likely to have the fairest and most thorough discussion for the final settlement of the policy of our nation.

6. — *Italy, Florence, and Venice*. From the French of H. TAINE. By J. DURAND. New York: Leopold & Holt. 1869. pp. 385. 8vo.

This volume, and its predecessor, "Rome and Naples," are rare works. The author is thoroughly suffused with the history of Southern Europe, civil, social, literary, and æsthetic. He is a master in art criticism, a keen observer of men and manners, and a thinker full of suggestive analogies, and often of deep philosophy. His descriptions are singularly graphic, — they are, themselves, a series of paintings, whether the subject be the sky or the earth, a peasant girl, a ruin, a cathedral, a painting of Raphael, or an antique statue, the manners of Florence or the morals of the middle ages. The volumes are largely, though not exclusively, occupied with the works of art in Italy; and those who have the culture to appreciate them will pronounce them unsurpassed in their kind.

7. — *A General History of the English Bible*. By B. F. WESTCOTT, B.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. London, and Cambridge. 1868. pp. 428. 12mo.

An interesting and valuable history, by the author, the Introduction to the Gospels, and other similar works. It gives a careful account of the English Bible from the early Saxon times till

the authorized version of James. It has some advantages over such a book as Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*. It is briefer; it deals more with the inner history, and less with the mere outward facts; it has the benefit of later and fuller knowledge; and is written by a more scholarly and careful man. The writer detects errors in the statements even of Hallam, and if Froude's *History of the Tudors* is not more trustworthy than that part of it which treats of the English Bible, as it is exposed by Mr. Westcott in his Appendix viii., we may well suspend our confidence in him as our historical guide.

8. — *Man in Genesis and Geology: Or, the Biblical Account of Man's Creation, tested by Scientific Theories of his Origin and Antiquity.* By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL.D. New York: Samuel R. Wells, 389 Broadway. 1870. 12mo. pp. 149.

Calm, candid, learned, liberal, judicious, this little book must have the happiest effect, alike on those skeptics towards religion, and those skeptics towards science, who are unduly excited just now, in opposite ways, relatively to certain discoveries and speculations touching man's antiquity and the origin of species. The baying and braying on either side only enhance that on the other, and it is hard to say whether more scientific bigots are made by the ecclesiastical, or more ecclesiastical bigots by the scientific. Dr. Thompson, at least, knows something, and knows what he is about. He is a fair-minded student of science, as well as of the Bible. In his preface, he well says: "A sound Theology looks upon Nature as the handiwork of God, and, while it accepts a supernatural Revelation upon evidence peculiar to itself, it accepts, also, every established fact of the physical universe as equally of divine origin and authority. Hence, the devout inquirer after truth will be bent, — not upon devising some compromise between Science and the Bible, as presumably at variance, — but upon ascertaining the exact facts of nature, as a portion of God's testimony concerning himself, and the precise meaning of the Bible according to legitimate principles of inter-

pretation. When each class of declarations is fairly brought out by its own methods, if there is a seeming discrepancy, neither will be set aside, as of inferior authority, but either some error of observation, induction, or interpretation, will be suspected; or while both forms of testimony are accredited, the decision of the case will be *held in abeyance*, until a more advanced knowledge shall reconcile them from some higher plane, where the harmonies of all Science, physical and metaphysical, and of all Revelation, the secondary and the supernatural, shall interblend without confusion or mistake." Wise words, of Bacon worthy, and worthy to be placarded on the walls of every laboratory and minister's study.

9. — *Old Town Folks*. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE — author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co.; pp. 608. 1869.

We noticed this book in our July number, but recur to it again. The gifted author undertakes "to interpret to the world the New England life and character, in that particular time of its history, which may be called the seminal period." We know of no one better fitted to do this and to do it well. The separate pictures drawn are, in the main, true to life. Those of its readers who saw anything of New England life, fifty or more years ago, will find pleasure in the memories awakened by them; and younger minds will receive some distinct and true impressions of things they never saw. Nevertheless, we must regard it a serious fault that the chief dramatic interest of the story is gathered about an incident, which, if it ever occurred there, must have been the rare exception in the usages of New England society, as it was opposed to the cherished and prevailing principles of that people at that day. As lovers of truth, and as sons of New England, we protest against the presentation of the theoretical and practical libertinism of Aaron Burr, as, in any way, belonging to "New England life and character in that seminal period." Instead of falling in with the morbid taste, so prevalent now, which requires an outrage on domestic purity and peace to spice a story, Mrs.

Stowe ought to turn the power of her genius to its correction. It certainly is not necessary to give point and interest to the scenes which are strung on this thread.

We are precluded from any severe criticism of the *theology* of the book by the author's explanation in the preface. We read, "Though Calvinist, Arminian, High Church Episcopalian, skeptic and simple believer, all speak in their turn, I merely listen, and endeavor to understand and faithfully represent the inner life of each. I myself am but the reporter, seeing much, doubting much, questioning much, and believing, with all my heart, in only a very few things." After this, we will only say that some exaggerations and caricatures are doubtless incident to any attempt to set forth, with scenic effect, the working of earnest minds on matters of religious faith and practice. We are glad to see that a Beecher of the second generation has some good words to say of Calvinism, in its bearing on "the political, social, and materialistic progress of the world," with a doubt "if the world is yet far enough along to dispense with it altogether." When the world is advanced enough to dispense with it altogether, we may be sure the end is near.

10. — *The Discovery of the Great West.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 425.

This is the third part of the "Series of Historical Narratives," which have appeared under the general title, "France and England in North America." And this volume is, in every way, worthy of Mr. Parkman's former works: "Pioneers of France in the New World;" "The Jesuits in North America;" "The History of the Conspiracy of the Pontiac."

Mr. Parkman has earned a place among the very foremost of our historians. He has investigated his subjects so thoroughly that he may be relied upon as authority; while his glowing enthusiasm takes up the duller reader and carries him along, and his life-like pictures of the past are more interesting than any romance. His descriptive power is as remarkable as that of Irving, and, by dramatic skill, new scenes are constantly appearing. "The Adventures of La Salle" have now found a worthy historian.

11. — *Seed Thoughts ; or, Selections from Caryl's Exposition of Job, with an Introduction by the Rev. J. E. ROCKWELL, D. D.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. pp. 180.

Joseph Caryl, "sometimes preacher to the honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn," wrote an Exposition upon Job, which was published in 1672. It was in "two mighty folios, containing together between four thousand and five thousand pages of closely printed matter, in double column." The author spent half his life in this work. His son voyaged slowly to India and back, but, upon his return, found his father not very many verses further on in his commentary. It is even hinted that the man intended to test his readers, trying their patience, as the devil did that of Job. Owen said that such a wordy commentary entombed the text. Warburton accused Caryl of trying to strangle Job, — with his long yarn of comments, we suppose. Dr. Rockwell has an edition of this work, in twelve quarto volumes, of from five hundred to one thousand pages each. Caryl was a puritan. Neal calls his work "learned." Kitto quotes it in his "Daily Bible Readings." Horne says that one Wachi eulogizes Caryl's work in very high terms; but Bishop Horne could not get his courage up to investigate for himself. Our ancestors evidently thought well of the monstrous commentary; and several editions of it were published when it first came out.

Having learned so much of the book in the Introduction, we confess to having had considerable curiosity to examine these one hundred and eighty pages of the best part of the twelve volumes; and, after looking them over somewhat carefully, it is our conviction that the Presbyterian Board have republished about one hundred and sixty pages more than they needed to have done. Probably twenty pages might have been filled with pithy sayings, and seed thoughts worth buying.

12. — *A Collection of the Proverbs of all Nations.* Compared, Explained, and Illustrated, by WALTER K. KELLEY. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1869. 16mo. pp. 232; tinted paper, cloth extra, ornamental back and side, \$1.25.



The grouping of proverbs under topics, — the attempt to classify so many disjointed sentences, — makes this book more readable than most of its kind. This is a good book for common use. The proverbs of different nations are so compared with one another that a degree of interest is excited which can not be raised by dry and dreary columns of short sentences. There is a good index ; and, on the whole, we think it better than anything that has appeared since the work of Dean Trench. For those who seek proverbial wisdom, this book supplies a decided want.

13. — *Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets.* Lectures on the Vocation of the Preacher. Illustrated by anecdotes, biographical, historical, and elucidatory, of every order of pulpit eloquence, from the great preachers of all ages. By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD. Second Series. New York : M. W. Dodd. 1869. pp. 290. Price \$1.75. For sale by M. H. Sargent.

We wish this book were a little more favorable to eyes that need favor ; although the getting up of the book may be as good as the publisher thinks it deserves.

There are five lectures : — “ The pulpit of our age and times ; ” “ On arrangement of texts by division ; ” “ Concerning written and extemporary sermons ; ” “ On effective preaching, and the formation of legitimate success ; ” “ On the mental tools and apparatus needful for the pulpit.” The pulpit monographs are upon Robertson, Pusey, Manning, Newman, Spurgeon, Abbe Lacordaire and Thomas Binney.

The monographs of Manning, Newman, the Abbe Lacordaire, and Binney, are very acceptable, so far as they go ; they are not, however, elaborate enough to be very valuable. And perhaps this may be said of the whole book : it is not elaborate enough. Midnight oil would be a good thing for Mr. Hood. He dashed off books to sell. But with much good sense and a wide-awake style he will find many readers.

14. — *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century.* By K. R. HAGENBACH, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated from the last German edition, with additions by Rev. JOHN F. HURST, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Two volumes. pp. 504, 479. Price \$6. For sale by H. A. Young.

The Christian public are largely indebted to Scribner and Co., for their enterprise in publishing so many works of solid merit in so attractive shape. These books commend themselves to students by the type, quality of paper, and neat binding. We must also express our high appreciation of Dr. Hurst's labors. His *History of Rationalism* deserves a place in every well-stocked library. And no man who pretends to acquaint himself with the history of error will fail to read it. His present translation is valuable in that it brings to American readers a somewhat fuller history of ecclesiastical movements in modern Europe than can be found in Hagenbach's *History of Rationalism*, which, in the translation by Messrs. Gage & Stuckenberg, is already in the hands of many readers. It is a pleasure to read whatever this Basle Professor writes; and besides pleasure amazing profit. His learning, and fullness and fairness, and beauty of spirit win him many friends. And his style is marvellously good, for a German.

It is a little curious that this work bears the title, "*History of the Church*," since no recognition is made of the Church outside of Europe. It is mainly a German affair. We think it was Kant who never traveled more than twenty miles from home. Those Germans have an idea that there are few ideas outside the fatherland. They are as self-conceited as Yankees.

5. — *An Inquiry into the Usage of βαπτισμα, and the nature of Judaic Baptism, as shown by Jewish and Patristic writings.* By JAMES W. DALE, D.D. Philadelphia: Wm. Rutter & Co. 1870. 8vo. pp. 400.

The author of "Classic Baptism" has now completed his argument. This volume is characterized by the same learning and skill that marked the former. Together they must attract great attention from the students of this subject. These two volumes form a work of great power. The whole matter is so thoroughly handled that little remains to be done, — except to convince our Baptist brethren; but this we fear will not be done in our day. If, however, they cannot be convinced, the absurdity of their position may be shown; and this Dr. Dale has done most effectively; in fact, it is a matter of some doubt, whether they now have any position; he has fairly taken away the ground or rather the water from under them. They are stranded. But we doubt not the denomination will contrive somehow to raise the tide, launch away, and sail the seas, bearing precious freight for many a year: so we say, God bless them with all their absurdities.

16. — *Juventus Mundi, the Gods and Men of the Heroic Age.* By the Right Honorable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 554.

It is a little curious that Mr. Gladstone should be found doing this kind of work. His "Homeric Studies," and the present work are to be followed in due time by another. To many, this kind of writing looks like drudgery, and to many, the reading of such books is distasteful. For our part, we like Homer better than his commentators. But the five chapters of this book which relate to the Homeric Ethics and Polity, are a fine and unequalled contribution to the subject, and will repay the careful attention of every thoughtful reader. From Mr. Gladstone's statements, it is clear that the doctrine of sin was more pronounced in the days of Homer than it appears to have been among the later Greeks.

17. — *Admiral Coligny, and the Rise of the Huguenots.* By the Rev. WM. M. BLACKBURN, Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Two volumes. pp. 384, 387.

The Presbyterian Board have done good service in publishing biographies and histories, suitable for Sabbath School libraries. This book is one of their best. The historical period taken up is full of interest, and the author has most fully prepared himself for his work. The style is thoroughly alive. The attention of the reader is not allowed to flag. The book is so able in every way that it is a good one for pastors. It may be suitably classed with Gillett's *Life and Times of Huss*, in respect to its ability.

18. — *The Manual: a Practical Guide to the Sunday School Work.*

By EDWARD EGGLESTON, editor of the "National Sunday School Teacher." Chicago: Adams, Blackner & Lyon. pp. 108.

Without any mixture of theory whatever, this little volume is what it purports to be, "a thoroughly practical and compendious hand-book of advanced methods." It is a Western product, — the brain-work and the printing and binding, — another illustration of the Book Trade of the North West. Three thousand copies were sold in thirty days after publication. It drives at the mark. It is clear, suggestive, terse. "What is not simple and natural is rejected." It sets up CHRISTIAN EDUCATION, — not Sabbath-day sensations or diversions, as *the* end of the Sunday School. It raps a good many follies on the head with short, sharp raps, which we could hope would finish them. It objects squarely against the excess of fiction in Sunday School libraries. "We could better bear to have an excess of any other kind of reading." Emphatically so! "Sunday School music must not be too light!" So again! "The *hymns* of much of our Sunday School music have neither sense nor poetry." Most so of all! "Above all, do not neglect the grand old church hymns; but sing such of them as are full of life and power." These are but specimens of the pith, snap, and incisive wisdom of this live book. It is worthy of becoming a National Manual; perhaps it will.

19. — *The Mimpriss Graded Sunday School Lesson System.* New York: M. W. DODD. For sale by M. H. Sargent, 13 Cornhill, Boston.

We heartily thank the publisher of these Question Books for the good work he has done. We have here "The Life of Christ,"

adapted to four grades of pupils, the highest being the Bible Class. By this method the whole school can study the same lesson; and the instruction is adapted to the capacity of the pupils. The lessons are short, but long enough. The questions are of the best we have seen. And accompanying each book is a "Teachers' Manual." There is a "Manual" for each grade containing the same matter that there is in the class question-book, and also "full geographical, explanatory, and other information; Scripture parallels, practical lessons, and a variety of matter calculated to make the lesson attractive, instructive, and impressive." And there is an Introduction to each "Manual," with capital hints to teachers. These books cannot fail to commend themselves to any teacher who will take some pains to examine them. And if to these books can be added "Mimpriss' Gospel Treasury," the teacher will be fully armed so far as books are concerned. The "Gospel Treasury" can be placed in the Sabbath School library, and consulted by such as cannot afford to purchase it. It ought to be used at teachers' meetings.

20. — *From Dawn to Dark in Italy.* A tale of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

At this season of the year, when Sabbath School libraries are filling their shelves, let no one forget Mrs. Charles' series of books.

21. — *The Spanish Barber, A Tale.* By the author of "Mary Powell." New York: M. W. DODD. 1869. 16mo. pp. 309. For sale by M. H. SARGENT. Price, \$1.25.  
A very valuable Sabbath School Library book.

22. — *Lion Ben of Elm Island: Charlie Bell, the Waif of Elm Island.* By Rev. ELIJAH KELLOGG, author of "Good Old Times," &c. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

If there is a born story-teller in the land, Rev. Elijah Kellogg, of Boston, for many years Mariners' preacher, is the man. He has the spirit and the knack of the thing. He has the inexpressible, inexhaustible love of adventure for it, the insight into boy-

nature, and what seizes and stirs that nature, the sense of the semi-ludicrous, which is the native capacity for "fun," the humor, the poetry of motion and feeling and picturesqueness, the wonder and appreciation of the curious, the excitability, enthusiasm, and warmth; and, moreover, being an old sailor before he became a Christian and a preacher, all these were fed in early life so as to create a fund to draw on inexhaustibly. His "Spartacus the Gladiator" has been more declaimed by school boys and students than *any other* American production. It deserves it. The realism, the soul, the passion and fire of the poem are wonderful. Jacob Abbott's stories, — so praised years ago, — always made the impression on us of being invented from a kind desire to construct something of such verisimilitude and healthy tendency as to be good for children to read. You never think of the author's invention in reading "Lion Ben" and "Charlie Bell." The story, like Topsey, "grewed." There is such life in it, it could but grow. If the rest of the "Elm Island Series" are as racy and rich as the two we have seen and read, — we have boy enough in us yet to do that, — they will have a national circulation. And we have known the author too well these many years to doubt that they will be.

23. — *Golden Hills*: A tale of the Irish Famine. By the author of "Cedar Creek." Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Interesting, exciting, and a pleasant "vein of piety" running through it, which is very refreshing. And it is much more nearly "founded on fact" than most of our Sabbath School literature.

## THE ROUND TABLE.

## VALEDICTION.

THE REVIEW has passed into new hands. Nothing reconciles me to this change but the deep conviction that I am providentially called to do a work which has been on my heart for years, and which I hoped some other would do, — the establishment, for the masses, of a progressive morning and evening daily paper in Boston, of a high moral and religious character, by which thousands of families may be saved from the steady process of moral poisoning, and the Christian sense of the whole evangelical community may be awakened, concentrated and guided for immense influence in many directions. This great work, of course, requires all my time, means and energies.

But with ceasing to be the proprietor of the REVIEW, I cannot sell my interest. And though unable to do much editorial work, I am glad to be still identified with the editorial corps. And in behalf of those who are to act as Eastern Editors, I would say that it is our full purpose to make the REVIEW more than ever a power in New England, as well as in the wider field it is now entering. And by the new arrangements now perfecting, it is confidently expected that the REVIEW will be more than ever worthy the liberal patronage and the warm friendships it has won in the past.

It is my joy to commit the REVIEW into good and able hands; proprietors who will not turn it aside from its established purposes, but will add greater resources and new attractions, and will give to the work a more national character and circulation. Chicago is destined to be a great center of Christian and national influence. Many reasons now offer for a largely increased Eastern as well as Western subscription. Of all the offers and plans for the future of the REVIEW, which came to me, this was decidedly the one of my choice, though another would have been more to my personal advantage. I therefore most cordially and earnestly recommend and desire that *all* those

who have been subscribers continue their patronage. It will be another chain to bind the East and the West, and I am sure that no other periodical will offer so strong inducements for patronage. Depend upon it the REVIEW is to have a grand future.

For various good reasons it has come about that the proprietor has been the sole Eastern editor for some time past, though the names of Drs. Cutler and Rankin have kindly and fragrantly lingered on our title-page. Yet I feel sure that I have their full concurrence in the views and wishes which I have here expressed, and that they do also join with me in sincere and heartfelt thanks to all our past contributors and patrons for their generous coöperation; and bespeak for the new proprietors and editors the same considerate favor.

All dues to the REVIEW, up to January, 1870, must be sent to me, at 11 Cornhill, Boston.

E. P. MARVIN.

#### A WORD OF SALUTATION.

IN removing to a place of issue more central to our newer American Congregationalism,—if not to the whole body at large,—this REVIEW takes on no sectional character, but throws off whatever it may seem to have had. In assuming the editorial conduct of it, the undersigned release themselves from none of its obligations to the Christian and general public, in respect to the quality, scope, and worth of its contents, but are ready to assume these and others of wider import. And they especially desire that the interest of its new England friends, both writers and subscribers, may be continued. In purchasing the REVIEW we have no purpose to leave New England out in the cold, unwarmed by the genial rays of this light of Congregationalism. We have therefore asked the gentlemen whose names appear upon our title-page as Eastern Editors, to see to it that the East is fully represented in our work. By their counsel and vigorous coöperation we hope to make the REVIEW a greater power. Those who have done so much for this periodical heretofore, will still stand by it. And we shall be glad to welcome new writers and new subscribers from the New England homes. It is intended that the REVIEW shall belong to New England as much as to the West. We aim to have a thoroughly NATIONAL



publication that will meet the wants of the whole denomination.

We purpose a periodical after the exact pattern of none now existing. Whether we shall "show a more excellent way" than others, or not, we have in mind a somewhat different one. The CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW has been, for nine years, as a Bi-Monthly, a Quarterly, and again a Bi-Monthly, "devoted to Theology and General Literature." It will continue so to be, with some enlargement and variation of its aims. Besides Theology, in all its branches,—in the present widened sense of that word,—and General Literature,—so far as it is valuable and attractive to Christian people, laymen and ministers, and consistent with our religious objects,—we shall include Science, as it touches civilization on the one side and Christianity on the other, and,—especially those forms of Art that enter into Christian civilization, and begin to affect our American future,—Education, secular and Christian, and Public Policy, in those aspects in which it affects the kingdom of Christ. We shall furnish essays upon practical church work and professional ministerial work, upon the great methods and organizations of our modern evangelical life, upon all topics that affect the increase of wisdom, skill, and power in extending Gospel truth and regenerate experience, and upon the current story of Congregationalism and evangelical Christianity in every part of our land. Learned and philosophical papers, in part, such as grace the pages of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, literary, historical, and other criticisms, like those which give strength to the *New Englander*, and monographs in Western biography and history, of no less value and interest than those which make the *Congregational Quarterly* a necessity to our fathers and brethren Eastward, will be welcome here. The West has been making a good deal of history,—it is now beginning to write it. Its society needs just criticism, and exact and profound knowledge, as much as any ever did in all the ages. Contributions of poetry, wit, and satire, from the earlier and later writers of the REVIEW, have lent it attraction, and will continue so to do. Humor and æsthetic excellence will never be out of place here, save as used against the truth and its friends. We shall give no class of articles or subjects disproportionate place. But we shall especially welcome acute, clear, incisive and thorough analyses, and pithy, elastic, terse, ringing utterances of vital, Evangelical truth.

Our own position towards such truth we have no need to state. Allowing ample liberty to our contributors within the bounds of what is evangelical, our own utterances, in the *ROUND TABLE* and elsewhere under our own names, will accord with the Puritan faith. Coleridge wrote "*THE FRIEND*" to "aid in the formation of fixed principles in politics, morals, and religion." No one will be likely to contribute to these pages who has not the same high aim. The first prospectus of this publication said: "*THIS REVIEW* will not promote the peculiar views of any narrow school or sect." Five years later its announcement for 1866 declared: "The discussions and results of our *NATIONAL COUNCIL* encourage us in our plans and labors, while they warrant us in thinking that there is less need of struggle, as among ourselves, and a broader common basis of doctrine and polity for Christian labor in new and needy fields." And it was set forth in the advertisement for the last year that, "As its name indicates, this *REVIEW* is published in the interests of the Faith and Polity of the Congregationalists of the whole country." These are our designs. We are New England born, — all of us, — and in New England institutions studied from the outset, with deepest interest, the principles New England has sent along the lines of latitude to the Pacific. Thoroughly persuaded that the grandest triumphs of these principles in church and State are yet to be, and recognizing the impulse and springing force and power our great national transition of '61-'65 has given them, we are ready to do yeomen work in setting them forward for the freedom, civilization, and Christianization of the whole land. The victories of our battle-years liberated principles as well as men. The real movement that came from our fathers has but just begun. We trust implicitly in the Divine conservatism of progress under the Word and Providence of God. We believe that the Church, while holding fast what is good, should keep ahead of the world in respect to real reform.

If the *CONGREGATIONAL REVIEW* now occupies the place Providence evidently opens for it, it will be of national importance to Congregationalists. The interest East of the Hudson in that newer half of our Puritan Zion which is coming into its inheritance West of the Lakes, never was so quick, intense, and intelligent as now. The forces that are shaping church life and

society on this vast Central field are watched as never before. We are sure, then, of a hearing from those to whom the REVIEW has spoken for nine years past, as well as from that larger public to which it now addresses itself. Besides Eastern editorial work, we are permitted to expect contributions from Rev. Drs. Haven, Fisk, Post, Gulliver, Goodwin, Sturtevant, Whiting, Rankin, Alden, Barrows, Storrs, Pond, Cochran, Holbrook, Roy, Dwinell, A. L. Stone, Clapp, Merriman, Profs. Mead of Andover, Mead of Oberlin, Jewett, H. W. Parker, Seccomb, and other professors in our Theol Seminaries and Colleges whose names will appear hereafter; and from Rev. Messrs. Tucker, Love, Montague, H. M. Goodwin, Guernsey, Tyler, W. L. Gage, and many others well known to the Christian public.

A. L. CHAPIN,  
S. C. BARTLETT,  
G. F. MAGOUN,  
G. S. F. SAVAGE.

EASTERN VIEWS OF WESTERN CONGREGATIONALISM. One of the choicest and grandest men the New England pulpit ever had, and lost, wrote to one of the present editorial corps, two years before his death, that fs, two and a half years ago, "I have just read with much pleasure your article in the *Congregational Quarterly*. I approve your principles as there expressed, and repudiate, — with you, — Dr. Vaughan's\* whole idea of undertaking to shape Congregationalism so as specially to reach and hold 'the higher classes.' He says Congregationalism is lost if it undertakes to administer the system without special heed to these classes. I believe it is lost if it undertakes to administer it *with* special heed to them. I am disgusted and alarmed at the ritualizing, liturgistic, semi-Episcopal out-croppings which begin to appear here in the East, and which plead for themselves this same miserable pretense that it is necessary to make provision for the wants, the tastes, or the prejudices of the cultivated and æsthetic classes, and that if we do not, they will leave us and go over to Episcopacy. Those that want Episcopacy let them go to Episcopacy; but let us not bring over any of the silly effemina-

\* Dr. Robert Vaughan in the *British Quarterly*.

cies of that system to defile and weaken the grand old simplicity of Congregationalism under the plea of keeping our people of culture, taste, and fashion, from running away after Episcopacy. I believe it will make them run all the faster, for it will slope the path and put them on the downhill track, and by and by, gravitation will get the better of cohesion, and the rope that holds them to us will break, and away they will go to the bottom, — *all because we built the road*. I don't want to see any road built between the two systems. I want the division to be steep as a precipice. It is so by nature, and nothing but 'art and man's device' can make it anything else. The two systems are diametrically opposed to each other, both in polity and in worship, and I was going to say in *doctrine too*, — and I *will* say it, — so far as the great working ideas of the two systems are concerned, faith and repentance on the one hand, and sacramentalism and baptismal regeneration on the other. Congregationalism was the first Christianity, and Episcopacy was the first Apostacy, and I don't believe that the *Apostolical* church has anything whatever to learn from the *Apostatic* church, except to shun all her ways, and keep as far as possible from all her mischief. I don't want to see our churches and ministers hankering after anything that belongs to that system, I believe that everything whatever which we 'beg, borrow, or steal' from it will, instead of enriching us only make us the poorer and weaker, and render us more unfit to do the great work which the church is sent into the world to accomplish. I am amazed that all intelligent Congregationalists do not see it so, and spurn from them with real Puritanic and Apostolic contempt all these liturgizing sentimentalities and ef-feminacies.

I am glad to learn from your article that 'there is no tendency to Episcopacy at the West' (among Congregationalists). I fear, however, you underrate the facts when you seem to intimate in the note to p. 155, that the same thing holds true of New England. I think there is coming to be in New England a decided *drift* of the kind which Dr. Vaughan describes. In our cities the 'social prestige' of Episcopacy is growing in power, and the children of our wealthy and 'cultivated' families are feeling it more and more. Those who want an easy, attractive and

fashionable religion, those who do not like to be pressed with truth on the Sabbath, nor restrained much by it on week-days, those who want a church which will let them come into it without any such process as that of conversion, and let them stay in it without giving up any of the amusements and vanities of the world, are finding that this is precisely the religion and the church which they need, and are being drawn into it in increasing numbers. And I fear that the infection is reaching further than it ought among our churches and ministers themselves, — leading some of them to make a kind of compromise with the evil under the plea of checking it. I dread this tendency more than the other. Congregationalism can afford to lose all that go from it on the ground of its standing firm to its own principles, and those of the Gospel, but it cannot afford to lose what it will lose by giving up any of these principles or in the slightest degree compromising them. Congregationalism here in the East wants re-toning. It wants to be brought back to its own first principles, and ‘formative ideas,’ as you well name them, and then to be held strenuously to them, and worked mightily upon them. Congregationalism is a polity of the Spirit. As long as it *stays itself*, and keeps the Holy Spirit it will live and conquer. The moment it leaves the Spirit and takes to the flesh, on the pretense of increasing its strength, it will lose its power and will perish, as it deserves to perish.

How shall our Congregationalism be saved from these compromising, corrupting, and enervating influences which so naturally spring up around it and within it in all old, wealthy, cultivated, æsthetic communities, where worldliness, fashion, and Episcopacy continually surround it with such a subtle atmosphere of intoxication? I do not know but we have got to look to the West to bring the system back to its foundations and its primitive spirit. Your free, new, earnest life is in such alliance with these principles, needs them so imperatively, and seizes them so instinctively, that you are in a peculiarly favorable condition to give us a *restored Congregationalism*, not only in the matter of polity (as Dr. Quint suggests in the closing sentence of his article in this *Quarterly*, p. 181), but also in the very tone and spirit of its working life.”

\* \* \* \* \*

"I have promised to speak at the coming Anniversary of the A. H. M. Society in New York, and I want to say something on this very point, *the Congregationalism of the West reacting on that of the East.* \* \* \* Is Congregationalism in the West in a better condition to come back to its first principles, to get new and vigorous possession of its 'formative ideas,' than it is in the East? Is it more likely to be stripped to the germ by the rough, ardent life which is there, so as to be trammelled by no old, clinging husks, and to develop its true ideal life? Do the habits of the people favor a more simple, thorough-going Congregationalism? Are the churches more firmly set against ritualisms, liturgies, and semi-Episcopacies? Are they disposed to take strong ground on the subject of amusements, against dancing, cards, operas, &c., &c., and the ministers with them? In general, is there less to hinder them and more to help them in going back to the primitive, apostolic, Gospel-preaching, soul-saving work of a real Christian church after the New Testament type?"

The answer to these queries was too late. Our friend's speech was never made. His princely intellect and glorious heart, speaking through one of the deepest and noblest of voices, have ceased to act on earthly themes. But the topic he started is an open and commanding one, and when our North Western Anniversaries come into being, and our grand old A. H. M. S. is heard on its own field of memorable achievements, we hope some one will take it up and set forth *Western Congregationalism the most Congregational in all Christian history.*

A GOLDEN MEAN IN THEOLOGY. It would be too much to call *any* theology yet wrought out *the* golden mean. It would imply its being a perfect theology. But that waits for perfect theologians and perfect men! It would assume that the whole science of God has been successfully and accurately constructed by imperfectly scientific and imperfectly consecrated minds. That was an old master in divinity, — one of the New England giants, — who declared that all sciences are progressive, and theology most of all; that is, progressive by addition, not by rejection of certified and established truth. For the human science of the

Infinite must needs be capable of constant and everlasting advance. The deepest and broadest-minded theologians of the great New England school held their system "for *substance* of doctrine" only, — which was simply a modest and becoming confession of human limitation and imperfection. If all extremes of religious opinion had been exhausted, it might be possible to construct *the golden mean*. But they have not been. The New England theology avoids such extremes as have been broached; it is positive and outstanding, without being extravagant, and it is therefore a mean. It does this better than any other system of truth, and therefore it is a golden mean.

OUR CHANGE OF BASE. We are more than gratified with the chorus of congratulations which our change of base has occasioned. From what has been so long called THE WEST, — including the great Central States, the Mountain Interior, and the Pacific Coast, — we hear but one voice, and we expect to hear a harmonic accord from the dear old land east of the Hudson, which has three Quarterlies for one half of our American Congregationalism, and will not grudge the great remainder a single periodical. Whether, in the not distant future, our new place of issue, — geographically central, — will be so to Congregationalism on this continent, as many enthusiastically expect, or will not be, its happy relations to the providential *movement* of the Puritan faith and polity cannot be overlooked. We shall be able to command a larger circulation than we could elsewhere. By promptness of issue *before* the first of the month of publication, — a virtue which the sensational monthlies carry to an excess which makes it approach the character of a vice, — we shall be able to secure all subscribers an earlier reception of each number than from any other place of publication.

Another effect of our change of base is a large increase of valuable and attractive articles. We are already full to overflowing, and more and better, we believe, are coming. Selection promises to be a little difficult; but it will be governed, not alone by the absolute or comparative excellence of the papers offered, but by their timeliness as well. The best things *and* the best for present publication we shall give. To disregard the latter part



of this rule and follow only the former part, would be about as sage a procedure as for a pastor to give his people unflinchingly a protracted course in scientific theology, with sublime indifference to their circumstances, wants and experiences. Contributors will need to remember that *immediately after each bi-monthly issue* we must have the matter on hand for the next.

We are also brought into closer contact with the great living questions of moment related to American Evangelical Christianity and American Congregationalism by our change of base. While the REVIEW loses none of its interest in the leading permanent questions that are always up for investigation and application where it was first planted, it will keep a sharp lookout for other current questions that more immediately affect the more rapidly growing portions of our Zion. Society throbs with these questions hereaway. It trembles under the tramp and shock of the hosts that go up to conflict over them. If we have any advantage hereafter in fighting our part of the great battle for Truth and Right, it will be due very much to our change of base.

**THE CHINESE AMERICAN QUESTION.** The Great Central Basin is next neighbor to the Pacific Slope. We have hearty promise of literary service from that quarter. The Pacific Railroad makes the transmission of "copy" and "proof",—and subscriptions,—a quick and handy affair. The Coolie question touches us closely. In an early issue we hope to offer an adequate discussion of it,—social, politico-economical, literary and religious. San Francisco has published the first American work (Roman and Co.) on Confucius and his followers. Our Trans-Montane brethren will follow up the Chinese vein to purpose and national benefit. Mr. Sumner says the Celestials must stand equal with others before the law. That is logical, patriotic, and right. Having quenched the "legal fiction" of a distinction between white and black, we must recognize no color of it touching olive-tinted, or any other of the Turanian shades. But what to do about them as patriots and Christians? What do they need? What can best be done? Missionary and tract societies are moving on their works. At a North Western Commencement an orator gathers up his reasons for concluding that in some things they are better than we. An out-and-out Emersonian would probably tell us,



they do not need your Puritan gospel. One suggestion is, that John Chinamen is a man ; that covers the whole question. Yet, as a man, but as a sinner, to be saved by grace, — by new birth and atonement. If we were to discourse to our Pacific friends hereupon, our text would be JUDGES, xviii : 14, bearing in mind that no Mormon idea of the Danite function is admissible, "Then answered the five men that went to spy out the country of Laish and said unto their brethren, Do ye know that there is in these houses an Ephod, and teraphim, and a graven image, and a molten image? *Now, therefore, consider what ye have to do.*" But we will first hear them. California has the floor.

THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT IN LITERATURE. A paragraph from an English journal is going the rounds relating how a missionary, — a Baptist, if we remember right, — has supported himself in his self-denying work of saving souls by extra literary labor. Paul had a similar missionary experience at Corinth. "When I was . . . wanted, I was chargeable to no man, for that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied." "I robbed other churches, taking wages of them to do you service." To get one's bread in one way and do good in another has been common enough since, — this side the Lakes. To serve some and beg from others the while has been the vocation of precious men and women on the Home Missionary field.

"Their record is on high." "Their works *do* follow them." One of our honored brethren promised awhile since to discourse sometime on "THE HEROISM OF WESTERN COLLEGES." He has since entered into the labors and fruits thereof. The theme would be a fruitful one. No truer heroes ever prayed and suffered than many a "Faculty" could furnish. They have been *the Home Missionaries of Christian learning*. "The Ages meet where they labor," said one of them years since, "The Puritan Age in its self-denial, the Future Age in its promise of glory." Such self-denial has not yet passed away, or ceased to claim its tale of labor. Christian Literature and Christian Science still will need it, as well as Christian education proper, while the work of planting all three and "giving them royal sway between the oceans and from the river to the ends of the earth" goes on. Our

deeper thinkers, our riper and more accomplished scholars, our keener and more facile writers have still a generous vocation. They are co-laborers in a missionary work. They must needs be, in the handsomest sense of the word, "contributors."

THE WORD "BI-MONTHLY." There is a slip in our English analogies. Why does not "Bi-Monthly" mean twice a month? people ask. Tri-Weekly means thrice a week, *ergo*, &c. The slip is, — on which side? Both are mongrel words, — Latin and Saxon. *Bis*, twice, on two occasions; *Tris*, three, same as *Tres*, are the Latin elements. Should Tri-weekly then, mean once in three weeks? or Bi-Monthly twice a month? "That is the question." Webster says, "*Tri-weekly*, thrice-weekly. This is a convenient word, but it is not legitimately formed. It should, according to its formation, mean once in three weeks, as *tri-ennial* means once in three years." We have *bi-ennial* too, once in two years, from the Latin, *bi-ennium* (*bis*, *annus*) a period of two years. Not twice or thrice in a year, but the year twice or thrice told, that was the Latin construction. So Tri-weekly should mean, as Webster says, the week thrice told. Worcester says of "questionable propriety," "it properly signifies 'occurring once in three weeks,' as *triennial* means 'occurring once in three years.'"

Well, the *Congregational Review* is a Bi-Monthly, going to you, dear readers, not twice a month, but *once* in two months. It is a cross, in frequency of issue, between the Quarterlies and the Magazines. So in the style of its matter. It is more like the original English Quarterlies than the present, more like the North American Review of an early day, when it published Bryant's *Thanatopsis*. It is a cross, too, between a literary and a theological periodical. It hopes to have the excellence of both! And that the union will be fruitful of good.

IDEAL AND REAL. Most persons who read the Bible at all have some notion of the Land of the Book. But the ideal can be changed to the real very nearly by a good Relief Map of Palestine. We brought one in our hand once all the way from Berne, in Switzerland, to London, and have been richly repaid for our trouble ever since. No engraved map can answer the same pur-

pose. Rev. W. L. Gage, of Hartford, has had a smaller one, about as large as a common child's slate, prepared, including the most needful names, and no others, and sends it by mail to those who send one dollar by letter to him at Hartford. It is not published ; and is neat and beautiful.